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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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## HEARINGS

BEFORE A

## SPECIAL

## COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

## H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTIGATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

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## VOLUME 12

FEBRUARY 7, 8, 10, MARCH 25, 28, 29, APRIL 2, 3, 4, 1940

AT WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities





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UNITED STATES  
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE  
WASHINGTON : 1940

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**SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**  
**WASHINGTON, D. C.**

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**JOHN J. DEMPSEY**, New Mexico

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**J. B. MATTHEWS**, *Director of Research*

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# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 2:30 p. m., Hon. Joe Starnes (acting chairman) presiding. Also present were Representatives Dempsey, Mason, Thomas, Voorhis, and Casey, members of the committee.

Mr. STARNES. The committee will come to order. The committee is called into session this afternoon for the purpose of receiving some testimony from Mr. Pelley concerning the activities of the Silver Shirt Legion, the work of that group, and its membership. I think it is fair to state that the chairman of the full committee is not present due to his continued illness, and the record should show at this time that the committee is having to operate without the benefit of an attorney and its regular investigating staff.

Also, I wish it to be shown as a matter of record that Mr. Robert B. Barker, who was commissioned by the chairman of the committee to conduct an investigation of Mr. Pelley and the Silver Shirt Legion is not present. He, too, has been ill, but I may now announce to the committee that he is out and we expect him to be present tomorrow or Friday for a continuation of these hearings.

With the consent of the full committee, I suggest that the witness be sworn, that a preliminary examination be held this afternoon, and then that the hearing be adjourned over until tomorrow, in order that the members of the committee may be more adequately prepared to help in the presentation of this investigation in this particular case. The committee is interested only in ascertaining the truth and the facts concerning Mr. Pelley and his organization. We are not concerned with anything else. The committee's work is finished when we have completed the examination of Mr. Pelley and his record and notified him that he is no longer needed as to the testimony in connection with this particular case.

Mr. Pelley, we are meeting in this room and the acoustics are bad and we are some distance from each other and we will speak as loud as we can and you also, we will have to ask you to speak rather distinctly. Please stand up and be sworn.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY, HEAD OF THE SILVER SHIRT LEGION

Mr. STARNES. At the present time you are under subpoena, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. I am, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And for the record we will state that you shall be under the subpoena of the committee and under the jurisdiction of this committee until we have concluded our investigation of you and your organization.

Mr. PELLEY. Quite right.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give for the record your full name and address.

Mr. PELLEY. William D. Pelley, Asheville, N. C.

Mr. STARNES. Where were you born, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Lynn, Mass., March 12, 1890.

Mr. STARNES. Will you state your educational training and background?

Mr. PELLEY. I was educated in the public schools of Gardner, Mass., and Springfield, Mass. I left school in the second year of high school and entered business.

Mr. STARNES. What business did you enter?

Mr. PELLEY. The paper manufacturing business, for 3 years.

Mr. STARNES. After that what was your business?

Mr. PELLEY. Writing and publishing.

Mr. STARNES. And, how long have you continued in that capacity?

Mr. PELLEY. Approximately for 25 years past, since 1915.

Mr. STARNES. By whom have you been employed?

Mr. PELLEY. Myself.

Mr. STARNES. You have operated yourself as a free agent or as one not in the capacity of owner and manager of the respective publications which you have owned, conducted, or edited?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Will you name those publications for the record?

Mr. PELLEY. The Wilmington Times, 1912 to 1915; the St. Johnsbury Evening Calladonian, St. Johnsbury, Vt., and an evening newspaper, 1917 to 1920; the Red Book, American Magazine, Collier's Weekly, 1920 to 1930. Since 1932 my own publishing house, Liberation Magazine, a weekly and patriotic review.

Mr. STARNES. During this time have you contributed to any journals, magazines, or publications not owned or published by you?

Mr. PELLEY. On two occasions, fiction stories under a pseudonym.

Mr. STARNES. What was that pseudonym?

Mr. PELLEY. William Godail.

Mr. STARNES. What were the publications?

Mr. PELLEY. Liberty Magazine and Woman's Home Companion. That material was fiction strictly.

Mr. STARNES. Were you the sole owner of your publication conducted in Asheville, N. C., in 1932?

Mr. PELLEY. The Liberation Magazine was originally projected by Galahad Press, the stock ownership of which I owned one third of, prior to the dissolution of the corporation in 1934. Does that answer your question?

Mr. STARNES. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question at this point?

Mr. STARNES. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know, in connection with the Galahad Press, Mr. Pelley, did you furnish the original funds to start that with?

Mr. PELLEY. No, Mr. Voorhis. The original funds for that were secured by the solicitation on the part of my own friends' efforts around the United States who were interested in my esoteric publications, who contributed approximately and roughly I should say \$5,000 for the purchase of preferred stock, which capital was used to finance the publications of the Galahad Press.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did those people ever receive any financial return from that or was it just a contribution?

Mr. PELLEY. Because of their interest in the work I was doing, and it was made in the way of donations.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did they receive any returns on it?

Mr. PELLEY. No. May I qualify that? In 1934, I will put it this way, I will say the word "assailed," that they assailed some of our economic and political writings. The situation developed in North Carolina where it was necessary to apply for an involuntary bankruptcy in order to discharge what I termed a biased receivership. The first thing that the receivership did was to close down an extremely profitable publication with a revenue approximating \$35,000 a year.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was that publication?

Mr. PELLEY. The Liberation. The publication was forced to cease, thereby depriving the stockholders who owned the publication and for whose corporate name the publication was issued, of that revenue. That publication "Liberation" continued shut down, I believe, for a period of about 17 months. After the litigation was adjusted, I resumed it under my own name or the trade name of Pelley Publications.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that an incorporation?

Mr. PELLEY. No. That is my personal trade name for my publishing activities, as distinguished from my manufacturing printing concern which is known as the Skyland Press.

Mr. VOORHIS. And which is incorporated?

Mr. PELLEY. And which is incorporated under the laws of North Carolina and my wife and myself have the full control.

Mr. VOORHIS. The investigators have furnished information before this committee indicating that during the time we have been talking about you opened a personal banking account here in Washington, D. C.?

Mr. PELLEY. Are you referring to a bank account in the Liberty Bank?

Mr. VOORHIS. I believe so.

Mr. PELLEY. I also had a bank account with the Franklin Bank, and I must qualify my statement. The difference between my publishing activities and a line of esoteric and metaphysical material for the Liberation, which I was issuing at that time under the name of the league. That work could not be carried on by a publishing concern, because it had the supervision of distribution of esoteric and metaphysical material to groups around the nation, who met once a week for the study of that material.

I incorporated under the laws of the District of Columbia. My declaration is properly filed, the League for the Liberation, no capital, no profits, no salaries; that and the revenue which I was still getting on the royalties from my books, such fiction writing as I was

doing, was approximately the moneys deposited in these local banks.

Mr. VOORHIS. And that ran to about what figure?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, I cannot tell you that. I would, if I could.

Mr. VOORHIS. \$29,000; would it be about that?

Mr. PELLEY. It might be, over a 17-month period.

Mr. VOORHIS. Those accounts were opened at the time the Galahad Press was in operation?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe the Galahad Press, relying on my memory, at that time, while these accounts were operated in Washington; we also maintained in New York an office at 11 West Forty-second Street, and I believe that the bank account—and there was a third bank account, in the Manufacturers' Trust Co., Fifth Avenue and Forty-third Street.

Mr. VOORHIS. The Galahad Press went through bankruptcy, did it not?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, indeed. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. And at the same time that was happening you did have these other bank accounts?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct, but I might qualify it. Just a moment, Mr. Voorhis. At that time, too, I was getting revenue from my various secular writings, because I published four novels, and naturally those royalties have accrued from time to time although I do not say that that was exclusively the money that was in these banks representing the royalties and nothing else.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were the creditors of Galahad Press paid off?

Mr. PELLEY. The creditors of Galahad Press never got a cent; but, Mr. Voorhis, there were assets in the Galahad Press properties in Asheville, N. C., to pay off those creditors, and I severely criticize the executors of Galahad Press for not having taken care of these stockholders properly. They tarnished a \$35,000 publication rather than have it go out to the Nation with the political writings that were in it.

Mr. CASEY. Was that a receivership appointed by the court?

Mr. PELLEY. The receiver was first appointed and then the voluntary petition in bankruptcy was filed later, and the referee in bankruptcy—is that the one that takes charge in that event?

Mr. CASEY. The trustee?

Mr. PELLEY. The trustee.

Mr. CASEY. The whole proceeding of dissolution of the Galahad Press was under the supervision of the Federal court?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Wasn't there shortly after that organized a Foundation for Christian Economics, and didn't that foundation take a mortgage on the property of the Galahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. No, Mr. Voorhis. That is not true. That was a statement made at the time that I refute. Here is what happened: I had started off my esoteric and metaphysical publishing with the Galahad Press. I found that it was necessary to supply material to large numbers of metaphysical students throughout the Nation at these weekly meetings, and therefore I continued this foundation here in Washington to service those students. Later on, a period of 6 or 8 months, it became necessary to educate, enlighten, and train

people in the metaphysical principles I was attempting to expound. For that purpose I went to North Carolina on a tender of an underwriting of a school in North Carolina to teach the principles that I was expounding. It became necessary for me, after arriving there, to enter into a proposition called the Foundation for Christian Economics.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where did the money come from for that?

Mr. PELLEY. There was almost no money for that excepting such tuitions from people who came in to attend the summer school at Asheville.

Mr. VOORHIS. From the reports we have, there was an amount of \$81,000?

Mr. PELLEY. You have been sadly misinformed, Mr. Voorhis. There was no such amount as \$81,000 involved in that case.

Mr. VOORHIS. You deny that that was the case?

Mr. PELLEY. I deny it, decidedly. As a matter of fact, I would say, supplementing my testimony, there was not \$10,000 involved. If my memory serves me correctly, there was approximately \$6,600 involved in the wake of that summer school in Asheville, and I want to qualify this too. After I had conducted that summer school for 9 months, it became impracticable to run a minor college of that nature around there in North Carolina. Therefore, I altered the nature of that Asheville, N. C., proposition and conducted this instruction by mail—a correspondence course.

I would like to add—I cannot guess, I have not the figures in front of me—but my tax returns show it, any amount which the tuitions on that Foundation Fellowship, as we call it, that correspondence course which we call the Foundation Fellowship—I cannot tell you what that amount was, but we made an income-tax return to the State of North Carolina for the amounts involved in that project.

Mr. VOORHIS. And that would have gone through the bank account of the Christian Economics?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were these moneys coming in at the same time that these other accounts were running also?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I would say 6 or 8 months later.

Mr. VOORHIS. But these bank accounts in Washington were running at the same time?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. The Galahad Press at that time was insolvent?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. It was not insolvent, and I make the statement that at no time was the Galahad Press insolvent. I want to clarify that this way for the record. We had found in the report of our 1932 Federal income tax—all right?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; go right ahead. Had you finished your answer?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I thought I was saying something I should not have said.

Mr. STARNES. No. Go right ahead.

Mr. PELLEY. I found that the 1932 income taxes had not included the depots of material which I had deposited around the United States—Boston, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles—and I discov-

ered that after the income-tax return was made, I think I explained to the income-tax man, all of which made it right. When these were properly entered upon our books the Galahad Press was not insolvent.

Mr. CASEY. Did you take any steps in the bankruptcy proceedings to establish that fact, that the Galahad Press was not insolvent?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Casey, I battled for 7 months down in North Carolina in the attempt to make this thing clear and was not allowed to enter certain testimony in that record.

Mr. CASEY. Who forbade you to do that?

Mr. PELLEY. It was not a case of anybody forbidding me. It was a case of not being able to get it into the legal record at the time that I was arraigned for this situation in North Carolina.

Mr. CASEY. You mean you did not have the material available at that time?

Mr. PELLEY. I had the material available, and I had called in, Mr. Casey, all of the material in these depots I have mentioned all over the United States. I had it in Asheville. I had it stored in my garage in Beaver Lake, and I wanted the jury to go up there and look at it, because if they had looked at it the thing would not have been insolvent and I would not have been involved in the criminal charge.

Mr. CASEY. The point I am making is, the judge would not allow you to do that?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I would not say it was the judge. It was what I would better term "a mistake between counsel" as to whether the evidence was relevant.

Mr. CASEY. You had counsel?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And were represented in these proceedings?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. And he, your counsel, made an agreement with the other counsel?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I would not say that.

Mr. CASEY. I thought you said it was not a judge before, but that it was an agreement of counsel?

Mr. PELLEY. There is an avenue here that we have got to explore for a moment, if you will indulge me. Mr. Dickstein, Mr. McCormick, and Mr. Cramer and other members of the investigating committee came to Asheville in 1934, April of 1934, and made it very difficult, exceedingly difficult, for us to continue our activities. I will put it this way: I had been warned before, so far as the Galahad Press was concerned, to pay the stockholders what they had paid in, and because a situation had arisen where I had only one-third of the stock in the Galahad Press, one-third of the voting common stock in a \$10,000 corporation, allowed me in Albany, N. Y.—the other two-thirds was in the hands of two women employees who had left my employ and had gone away—therefore I was liable for somebody to pick up that stock and perhaps controlling my corporation. Therefore, I attempted to liquidate that corporation.

Mr. CASEY. All of this is beyond my question.

Mr. PELLEY. No; it is not, please.

Mr. CASEY. Wait until I finish my questions. All of this is going behind the court record. All of these things were before the United States court.

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Did you appeal that case?

Mr. PELLEY. No; because that was the crux of the situation in North Carolina, and that is the crux of the situation today, and it is this; I wanted to appeal that decision and through a suggestion of counsel, in conference with Judge Warlick, the proposition was made me that if I would pay a fine and accept a 5-year parole sentence and not to appeal that case that would be the washing out of that situation in North Carolina.

Mr. CASEY. How much of a fine did you pay?

Mr. PELLEY. I paid \$1,000 and \$750 court costs.

Mr. CASEY. You were following the advice of counsel in doing that?

Mr. PELLEY. I may, but may I add this? In the next year, gentlemen, that I had that material which was in question, I sold \$7,000 worth of it, which my attorney had bought from the trustees as old waste paper for \$11.

Mr. DEMPSEY. This may be very interesting, Mr. Chairman, but I do not see what it has to do with what we are considering here.

Mr. STARNES. I do not either. Any other questions?

Mr. CASEY. The Pelley Publishing Co.—is that a corporation?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. It is a trade name.

Mr. CASEY. And what publication does that issue?

Mr. PELLEY. At the present time that issues Liberation; Little Visits, a monthly biographical magazine; and Realty magazine, a metaphysical publication.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you please give the years that your articles appeared in Liberty magazine and the Woman's Home Companion?

Mr. PELLEY. They were two isolated cases of sales in 1933.

Mr. THOMAS. In 1933?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. The material which I had left over at that time, and I told him of these sales.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you also tell the committee the details of the four novels which you wrote?

Mr. PELLEY. The Greater Glory, published by Little, Brown & Co. in 1919; The Four Guardsmen, published by the same house in 1921; Drag, published by Little, Brown & Co. in 1924; Golden Rubbish, published by George P. Putnam & Sons in 1931 or 1932.

Mr. THOMAS. Are those the only novels or books which you have written?

Mr. PELLEY. Oh, decidedly not.

Mr. THOMAS. What are some of the other books which you have published?

Mr. PELLEY. My other books, which have been published by my own concern, are No More Hunger, an economic book.

Mr. THOMAS. I am referring now to books written by you.

Mr. PELLEY. That is right. The Door to Revolution, an autobiography; Behold Life, a metaphysical volume; Being Alive, a metaphysical volume—that is all I recall right now.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Pelley, will you state your connection with the Silver Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Starnes, I founded the Silver Legion in 1933, contiguous with the appearance of the so-called New Deal of the Democratic administration, at Asheville, N. C.; to propagandize

exactly the same principles that Mr. Dies and this committee are engaged in prosecuting right now; in other words, antagonism to subversive influence in the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Who was associated with you in the organization of the legion?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean the original incorporators?

Mr. THOMAS. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. The Silver Legion was not incorporated until February of 1934. In the opening year of its existence it was a man to man relationship between those who believed in the principles I was expounding and myself. In 1934 we incorporated under the laws of the State of Delaware, a fraternal, nonprofitable, noncapital corporation, myself controlling five votes—and I am speaking from memory now—Harry F. Seiber, of New Wales, Pa., and a man by the name of Lee Collie, who held two and one votes respectively.

Mr. STARNES. Upon what system of business were you organized? What was the type of your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. The type of the organization was a patriotic fraternity, Mr. Starnes. Its purpose was to condemn by a dramatic move and bring to the attention of the American people some of the abuses that were going on behind the scenes that I wanted publicized.

Mr. STARNES. How many groups do you have, or did you have, throughout the country in 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. That is difficult to say by memory. I can only approximate it for you.

Mr. STARNES. Give us the best you can. What we are trying to get for the record is this: How were you organized? Did you have a national organization with a board of directors, and State organizations or district organizations; or how were you organized?

Mr. PELLEY. At the start, there was a general staff in Asheville, N. C., composed of myself, Mr. Seiber, and Mr. Collie.

Mr. STARNES. What were your titles—your officers?

Mr. PELLEY. I do not think we had titles at that time.

Mr. STARNES. What were the offices which each of you held?

Mr. PELLEY. Representing the president, secretary, and treasurer.

Mr. STARNES. You were the president and organizer?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Who was your secretary, and who was your treasurer?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Seiber was treasurer, and Mr. Collie was secretary.

Mr. STARNES. That was in the beginning. That was your general staff.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have a joint board of directors?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Just you three?

Mr. PELLEY. Under the constitution of the organization, that was not necessary. Those three functioned as a joint staff.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have a copy of your original constitution with you?

Mr. PELLEY. No; but I can get it for you.

Mr. STARNES. Will you do that, and insert it in the record as a part of your testimony?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I will be delighted.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have State organizations in 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; we did.

Mr. STARNES. How many States did you have organizations in?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say at least a dozen.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, Seiber, how does Seiber spell his name.

Mr. PELLEY. I believe it is S-e-i-b-e-r.

Mr. STARNES. And the other man was who?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Collie; C-o-l-l-i-e.

Mr. STARNES. Can you name the States in which you had State organizations in 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. California. Organizations? Organizations is a bad name to apply, because that would infer that I had a complete set-up of officers functioning and an organization working. That did not exist. We did have—I am trying to think for a moment, of the title we gave those State commanders. It will come to me perhaps in a minute. I found that it was not working out satisfactorily, for this reason: We ran on that basis for about 6 months; then I discovered there was a very dangerous element, subversive, that could work in and subvert the whole thing, one man being in control of the entire State. If he went sour, if I may use that word, it would jeopardize hundreds of fine people that were sincerely interested in promoting these principles from a patriotic standpoint. So I abandoned that entirely, and I made the Silver Legion a matter of personal relationship between these various groups in the various States, which are approximately 22.

As I fully explained, Mr. Starnes, to your Federal Bureau of Investigation when they went into my affairs in May, in 22 States we had these groups and between them and myself we had what I call liaison officers, who were purely messengers of mine. If I had any special message, instruction, or work which we wanted done, they functioned in that capacity and that was practically all.

Mr. STARNES. You say the Federal Bureau of Investigation completely and thoroughly investigated you and your set-up in May?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Of 1939?

Mr. PELLEY. Of 1939. I entertained three sets of G-men on three separate days in Asheville, N. C.—Mr. Brown and Mr. Mitchell.

Mr. THOMAS. You did that personally, you mean?

Mr. PELLEY. They came to me and asked for information regarding my organization, and I received them hospitably and with the utmost courtesy and I cooperated with them. We spent an entire day, from 7 o'clock in the morning until 6 o'clock in the afternoon at my office in Asheville. They asked me for anything I had to show them, and I showed them everything in connection with my work, with the sole exception of names of membership, which I considered I should keep quiet.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the date of that meeting?

Mr. PELLEY. I wish I could give it to you accurately, but I cannot. It was sometime in May.

Mr. THOMAS. Last May?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And that was by the Department of Justice?

Mr. PELLEY. The Department of Justice, and then Mr. Shite came down, and also Mr. Mitchell and Mr. Brown, and spent a day with me, and on a third occasion two other G-men came down there and I showed them everything they wanted to see, and I supposed that was in the hands of my Government when the Dies committee wanted to see me.

Mr. STARNES. Did these people come for an investigation of you and of the affairs of the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And did they inform you that that was the purpose of their coming?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Was any indictment brought against you or any members of the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. On the contrary, it seems to me that the efforts of the F. B. I. more or less approved of what I was doing.

Mr. STARNES. At that time, you had organizations in 22 States?

Mr. PELLEY. I had groups in 22 States; yes, Mr. Starnes.

Mr. STARNES. In 1934 you stated you had organizations in 12 States.

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Is that the year you were investigated by a congressional committee, headed by Congressman McCormick of Massachusetts?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you stated that was in the spring of 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. April of 1934.

Mr. STARNES. Did they go into your organization and your affairs and the affairs of your organization at that time and examine your books?

Mr. PELLEY. They not only examined them, but I am sorry to say that they absolutely cleaned me out of anything I had, with the exception of one portable typewriter. And, Mr. Starnes, the material taken out of my office by Mr. Dickstein and his assistants turned up in New Master and I can show you if you get the papers the private remarks taken out of my file appear in the New Master publication.

Mr. STARNES. Of course, the committee is not here to answer your questions. The committee is not sitting here now, but you are here to answer the questions propounded by this committee.

Mr. PELLEY. That is true.

Mr. STARNES. I want to get one thing clear for the record. Were these men from the F. B. I. there investigating your income-tax returns or your own affairs?

Mr. PELLEY. They told me that they had been instructed from Washington to get a complete picture of the work of the Silver Legion and Pelley Publishers, which was desired at that time by the Attorney General.

Mr. STARNES. How many members did you have, approximately, in 1934? Do you recall?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I cannot give that to you accurately.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us an approximatiton?

Mr. PELLEY. I would like to put it this way, for the record. Over the past 7 years I believe that I have signed approximately 25,000 credentials authorizing men to call themselves Silver Shirts throughout the country.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many?

Mr. PELLEY. Twenty-five thousand; but I have not kept a roster of those men because that was not the way that we handled the membership.

Mr. STARNES. Who was your State commander in California in 1934, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. In 1934?

Mr. STARNES. That was the first year after you incorporated.

Mr. PELLEY. A gentleman by the name of Walter Bethel.

Mr. STARNES. You had a State organization in California. Name some of the other States, as best you can from your memory.

Mr. PELLEY. Massachusetts and New York.

Mr. STARNES. Who was your leader in Massachusetts?

Mr. PELLEY. A young man by the name of Alvin, Watertown, Mass.

Mr. CASEY. What is his first name?

Mr. PELLEY. It commences with A.

Mr. CASEY. A. Alvin?

Mr. PELLEY. That is the best I can recall right at the moment.

Mr. STARNES. In New York State, who was your leader?

Mr. PELLEY. May I submit a complete list instead of relying on my memory?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. The committee will understand that you are now testifying from your recollection only, and you may refresh your recollection by the record and correct the record by submitting a complete list which you will identify as a complete list.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Starnes. I cannot identify these men as State leaders, and that would not be fair to them or to the organization. They were spontaneous groups which sprang up as a result of the publicity I was issuing at that time.

Mr. STARNES. What other States besides California, Massachusetts, and New York did you have organizations in in 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. Washington, Oregon, Illinois, I believe Michigan.

Mr. STARNES. All right. That is seven.

Mr. PELLEY. Indiana.

Mr. STARNES. All right. That is 8 States out of the 12.

Mr. PELLEY. Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Mr. STARNES. Ohio and Pennsylvania?

Mr. PELLEY. New Jersey.

Mr. STARNES. New Jersey. That is 11.

Mr. PELLEY. Nebraska.

Mr. STARNES. Nebraska?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Those are the 12 States you recall from memory? You are testifying solely from your memory?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us the name of some of the outstanding leaders or leader in the State of Illinois in the year 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I cannot do that. I would like to do so, but I cannot do it. Understand me, I am not refusing to do so, but I

will be delighted to investigate and furnish you with a corrected list.

Mr. STARNES. You will for the record furnish us with a correct list of the States in which you had organizations in 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. I will furnish a list of States in which I had outstanding groups of Silver Shirts. I cannot call them State organizations.

Mr. STARNES. We won't quibble over the terminology, but you understand what the committee wishes for this record?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. THOMAS. And also the leaders.

Mr. STARNES. And give us some of the leaders.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have any groups working with you or did you have any people with sympathy with your organization who contributed to your work?

Mr. PELLEY. Not a single instance, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know whether or not you had what we term in common parlance "sympathizers," people who were sympathetic to your movement, and who contributed to it at that time?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean organizations?

Mr. STARNES. No. I am speaking of individuals. Can you give us an approximation of the number of individuals who might have contributed money or support, either moral or financial, during this period?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say that that list would run from 600 to 1,000 names.

Mr. STARNES. I see. Would you be willing to make an approximation for the committee of the number of sympathizers to your movement, or who were working with your movement?

Mr. PELLEY. People who believed in what I believe in who have expressed that belief and are not members? Is that what you mean?

Mr. STARNES. That is what I mean.

Mr. PELLEY. I would add 75,000 to the 25,000 I have given credentials to.

Mr. STARNES. What dues were paid, initiation dues, by one who became a member of the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. When I first founded the legion, I suggested that the members pay \$10 yearly. Then I made the discovery within a few months that had the aspect of a membership racket, and it is of record in my publications that because of that unsavory designation, I did away with any charge whatsoever for membership in the Silver Legion, with the exception of \$1 enrollment fee which it would cost for sending out the material.

Mr. STARNES. What material was furnished a member?

Mr. PELLEY. Certain booklets describing the aims, purposes, and general trend of the organization and what was hoped to be accomplished.

Mr. STARNES. Who was the author of these publications?

Mr. PELLEY. Since 1933—you mean all the authors?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Thomas was in one instance.

Mr. STARNES. You know what I mean. Who were the authors of these booklets which you sent out?

Mr. PELLEY. In other words, Mr. Chairman, what I am driving at—I am not trying to be facetious in mentioning Mr. Thomas' name—but what I had reference to was, when I referred to Mr. Thomas, was the impeachment of Madam Perkins which I considered a masterpiece.

Mr. STARNES. Were you assisted during this period of time with any other group or rather associated with any other group?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have never been associated with any other group at any time either here or abroad.

Mr. STARNES. Either you or your council were investigated by a congressional investigation committee in 1934 at which time you were operating in 12 States.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You were operating through a membership of spontaneous groups in 22 States last year?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And were you operating in the same 12 States in which you operated in 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. The 10 additional States, can you now remember from memory and give us some of those additional 10 States in which you had spontaneous groups in 1939 when the F. B. I. investigated you and your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. I think so. That would be 10 more States?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. You have informed us that you had organizations in California, Oregon, Washington, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Nebraska, as well as New York and Massachusetts.

Mr. PELLEY. All right. I had Florida.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. New Jersey.

Mr. STARNES. You have already named New Jersey.

Mr. PELLEY. Did I name New Jersey?

Mr. STARNES. Yes, sir.

Mr. PELLEY. I am trying to get a mental picture of the country. You have not got a map of the United States? That would help me a whole lot.

Mr. STARNES. Will you give us those for the record?

Mr. PELLEY. I should be delighted.

Mr. STARNES. And will you also give the names of some of the leaders in some of those States who have been active in carrying on this program?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Pelley just made some reference to me, and I was not quite clear as to what that reference was. Would you mind if he stated what that reference was?

Mr. STARNES. Go right ahead.

Mr. PELLEY. I say this, that I heartily endorse and approve of your contribution to the Congressional Record, "The Impeachment of Madam Perkins," which I attempted to hand out to about a hundred thousand people in this Nation. That was a booklet which has been sent out since you wrote that.

Mr. THOMAS. And you also know that your organization received a letter from me condemning you?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. In which I accused you of trying to make money?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. We did not try to make any money out of that.

Mr. THOMAS. I may say that I have yet to admire any action of yours.

Mr. PELLEY. I am very sorry, because I think your work is splendid, splendid.

Mr. STARNES. Did a man by the name of Fritz ever hold any position with the Silver Shirt Legion in the State of Oregon?

Mr. PELLEY. Fritz?

Mr. STARNES. Fritz or Fitts?

Mr. PELLEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. STARNES. Or anybody whose given name was Fritz, who was a leader out there?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you ever have a man by the name of McDonald associated with you in the Silver Shirts Legion in Oregon?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. McDonald, as I recall, last year—1938 or 1939—did some speaking apropos the Silver Legion work in the State, but he held no official position that I had authenticated.

Mr. STARNES. Have you got any idea as to the approximate number of members which you have in the State of Oregon?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I cannot give it to you.

Mr. STARNES. From what State do you have the membership?

Mr. PELLEY. I cannot give you that.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many do you have in California?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say, Mr. Voorhis, three or four thousand.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who is the leader of the Legion in California?

Mr. PELLEY. The leader up until recently—there is none right at this moment—has been Mr. Carneal Alexander.

Mr. VOORHIS. And he is no longer the leader?

Mr. PELLEY. You see, I have not had what you call State leaders, Mr. Voorhis, not that I am trying to indulge in any subterfuge. Mr. Alexander has been the man that I would designate as my liaison man in California.

Mr. CASEY. How many members have you in your Legion in the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. PELLEY. Not as many as I wish I had.

Mr. THOMAS. How many have you in good old New Jersey?

Mr. PELLEY. I wish I could answer you, Mr. Thomas, because you are asking me to take things out of the air, and I have not the record before me in order to find out.

Mr. STARNES. How much money, approximately what, would you say your national annual income was from the national Silver Legion during the time it has been in operation? From that one source alone, from membership dues or contributions which have been made—and I ask you, have individual contributions been made?

Mr. PELLEY. They have.

Mr. STARNES. By the members?

Mr. PELLEY. Not altogether.

Mr. STARNES. Then there have been others who have contributed?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us the approximate amount that has been contributed to the organization for its support by the members and outsiders interested?

Mr. PELLEY. No, I cannot. I would be delighted to give you a transcript of the report to the Federal Revenue.

Mr. STARNES. Would you incorporate that as a portion of your testimony?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Or, if it is too long or too bulky, would you incorporate it as an exhibit, as a part of your testimony?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Were any proceedings directed against you or the members of your organization as a result of the congressional investigation in 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. The contributions which were made were entirely under your control?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Completely?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right. That is in the constitution. In fact, most of these contributions have been more or less a personal gift to me and so stated.

Mr. CASEY. You have a constitution of your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. And do you set forth therein the purposes of the Silver Shirts?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. What is the purpose as expressed in the constitution of your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. I have got a transcript of that, which is a paragraph, and if you will allow me to read it—

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, do you have any public documents available which will state the aims and purposes which you sent out?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Can you supply them and make them a part of your testimony?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. You said awhile ago that in 1933 that because of the New Deal, started then, you commenced this, and I would like to read from your book here where it says:

So the remaining months of 1932 were lived. Roosevelt had been elected. Money was growing tighter, still it did not affect us as it affected others. So long as people had money, ours was the sort of material that they most desired to read. The first item in Mrs. Leslie's prophecy had come true about the "nation-wide spiritual movement" . . . the second had materialized that "in two years or thereabout you'll find yourself sitting with the heads of government *behind* the government in Washington" . . . but the third item, that "in three years or thereabout you'll find yourself at the head of a quasi-military order pledged to protect Christian Constitutionalism when it hangs by a thread" was still in the future. What could it encompass? Would the implied Great Pyramid date of January 31, 1933, give me indication? We were watching that date. The Pyramid had never failed.

It so happened that I was working late one night in my office at the east end of the main college building when Marion Henderson, my secretary, came in with the Asheville evening paper. I saw eight-column headlines. Curiously I picked it up. The date was January 30, 1933. And screaming from the page were the significant words—

ADOLF HITLER BECOMES GERMAN CHANCELLOR

I looked at the lines. I read them again. I sought to comprehend them. Something clicked in my brain! . . .

I laid the paper down. *The prophecy heard that night in the 53rd Street flat before going up to Mrs. Leslie's, was working!*

"Tomorrow," I announced, "we have the Silvershirts!"

Anderson scowled. Marion was puzzled. One of them demanded, "What do you mean, Silvershirts?"

"Let me alone tonight!" I begged. "Tomorrow you'll know everything!"

Mr. PELLEY. Will the committee please hear me for a moment? You have read from something that makes reference to a prophesy by Mrs. Scott. I think that we are entering into material which I don't think is particularly pertinent to this committee, but I state later that on a certain date this thing would mature.

Mr. VOORHIS. What thing?

Mr. PELLEY. The program of the Silver Legion, and that it would happen continuous with the innovation of a man known as Hitler in Germany.

That fully explains it. You are only reading part of it. If you read the whole thing, you will see that. That conveys the wrong impression. If you will read the whole thing, the whole reference, you will get the whole picture of what is meant there, and you will find that there is no particular hook-up with Mr. Hitler in any personal way.

Mr. VOORHIS. But this is a quotation here which is attributed to you, in which you say that you have been one of Herr Hitler's defenders among your own people from the first, and that you think the thing to do is to let the spontaneous American movement be born here on similar principles to those attributed to Hitler, which shall be American in character and personnel?

Mr. PELLEY. What do you have there?

Mr. VOORHIS. This is just a thing that I copied from the McCormack hearings.

Mr. PELLEY. I never appeared before any McCormack hearing at any time.

Mr. VOORHIS. This is attributed to you. It is supposed to be in correspondence between yourself and friends of the new Germany.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't recall any correspondence of that kind, unless I can see the letter.

Mr. CASEY. Was Herr Hitler an inspiration to you?

Mr. PELLEY. My dear Mr. Casey, I was writing about this whole problem that has since developed into the Silver Legion before Mr. Hitler was heard of.

Mr. CASEY. Was that an inspiration to you?

Mr. PELLEY. What do you mean, "inspiration"? I had made a thorough examination of the Versailles Treaty, and I thought that Mr. Hitler had done an excellent job in Germany for the Germans.

Now, I did discover this: When I started the Silver Legion we had no hook-ups with Mr. Hitler, with Germany, or any other foreign

power. I had an offer made me, which came in over the United States mails, to put 15,000 Germans in the Silver Legion at \$10 a head, by Col. Edwin Emerson, accompanied by an invitation to proceed to New York and debate the racial question with Samuel Untermyer in Carnegie Hall.

Mr. CASEY. Where was Colonel Emerson?

Mr. PELLEY. Colonel Emerson wrote me that letter from New York City.

Mr. CASEY. Did you know anything about him?

Mr. PELLEY. I knew plenty about him.

Mr. CASEY. Who was he?

Mr. PELLEY. First, I turned the whole proposal down. Then I went up to see my friend, Mr. Sharp—

Mr. CASEY. Who was Colonel Emerson?

Mr. PELLEY. I am answering you.

I went up to see my friend, Mr. Sharp, whom I knew personally. He at that time held the office of vice president of the New Jersey Telephone & Telegraph Co. I asked him who Mr. Emerson was that he should do this thing.

And I have here a dossier which Mr. Sharp gave me at that time, which I think I can produce to this committee, but I am not sure. The information which I accepted as coming through our State Department channels was that he had been a courier of a sort between the Bolsheviks of Germany in Berlin prior to Mr. Hitler's advent and Moscow and Russian bolshevism. And I didn't care to have anything to do with that stripe of individual.

Now, if you wish that dossier, I will try to get it for you.

But it wouldn't have made any difference. I wrote several men at that time, and there was some correspondence—let me augment it with this—there was some correspondence in the early part of 1933 with some young Germans that had an office up in the Whitehall Building in New York City.

When they learned of this material in this dossier from Colonel Emerson they asked me to come up there to see them. I went up there at my own expense and met them and told them what I knew, told them that they were getting on dangerous ground, as I considered it; and there the matter began and ended; and I have never had any relations with their organization since.

Mr. THOMAS. You read a transcript from your constitution which approximates what you did. Did you determine upon that at the time of making that constitution?

Mr. PELLEY. It has been there, I think, ever since 1933.

Mr. THOMAS. You haven't changed it any since 1933?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. THOMAS. You haven't amended it any since then?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Is it directed against the Jews?

Mr. PELLEY. No, Mr. Casey; it is not. I am too intelligent to do that, I hope. That has been the construction that has been placed on that phrase—subversive activities of the United States, as I see it.

Mr. VORHIES. In that connection, in the issue of Liberation for October 14, 1938, wasn't there a suggestion in there that all the

Jewish people should be put into one city in each State, and that if necessary sterilization could be resorted to?

Mr. PELLEY. If you care to go into the Jewish question, you are going to be here a long time. I wouldn't like to start on that.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am asking you whether that appeared in that paper at that time or not.

Mr. PELLEY. There is a situation developing in the United States that we cannot ignore, and that is my personal solution for something that we have all got to face before we get through—before many years longer in the United States, I think.

Now, that is a matter of opinion and recommendation which under the Constitution I consider that I have a right to propagate as much as you have.

Mr. VOORHIS. You think that a whole race of people should be treated in that way?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't think there is anything wrong with that. What is particularly wrong with a group living unto themselves and not running into the clash and friction that we are developing in this Nation at a tragic rate? What is wrong with that? Didn't our Pilgrim Fathers do the same thing in New England? They are only keeping by themselves, and this is their own religion in life and their own ideals.

Mr. VOORHIS. As you know, and I need not tell this committee, I thoroughly agree that we need a greater unity among our people and a great deal less breaking down of that unity by means of teaching people to hate one another.

Mr. PELLEY. I am not teaching people to hate one another.

Mr. VOORHIS. Wouldn't you call a suggestion to sterilize a whole race that?

Mr. PELLEY. In other words, Mr. Voorhis, we are approaching a situation in the United States now where we cannot help noticing a growing anti-Semitism.

I don't hold any hatred toward any Jew in the United States. But our people over this Nation, my dear Mr. Voorhis, are discussing this question; and it is rising under the surface at a volcanic rate.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let me ask you another question. I have here a little pamphlet which is called *What Manner of Government Is the Christ to Set Up?* I read here something that I believe that you wrote: "A great census is presently to be precipitated in the ranks of this Nation." And then you speak of the "predatory priestcraft." Now, what do you mean by "predatory priestcraft"?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, I have here a book with 82 attestments by leading spokesmen of the Jewish people in the United States that say they are out to subvert our American Government through what I call the predatory priestcraft.

Mr. VOORHIS. What do you mean by putting the Protestants in here? Do you have reference to the Catholic faith?

Mr. PELLEY. I do not. I would say that 50 percent of my membership are prime young Catholics.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then you don't have any reference to the Catholic religion in there?

Mr. PELLEY. I certainly do not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you ever attacked it in your publication?

Mr. PELLEY. I have not.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you ever attacked Christian Science?

Mr. PELLEY. I have not. What do you mean by "attacked it"?

Mr. VOORHIS. I believe you are mistaken. I believe that in issues of *Liberation* they carried attacks on both of those.

Mr. PELLEY. Maybe there is a misunderstanding between us. What do you mean by an attack? Do you mean that I disapprove of the principles of that particular denomination?

Mr. VOORHIS. All right. Put it that way?

Mr. PELLEY. My dear Mr. Voorhis, if there was any designation which could be put down to my own personal religious beliefs, it would be Christian Science.

Mr. VOORHIS. There never was any material in *Liberation* at all which is an attack on that church?

Mr. PELLEY. Not as an attack on the church and on the fundamentals of the belief.

Mr. CASEY. You say you bear no ill-will toward any Jew in the country?

Mr. PELLEY. I do not, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. You would not regard sterilization of the Jews as a display of love and affection, would you?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't believe Mr. Voorhis read that correctly. I think if you read that again, you will find that what was reported there was that I said that there are people and groups in this Nation who are discussing it, and therefore I made the recommendation which he read to you gentlemen.

Mr. CASEY. But you stand by the recommendation?

Mr. PELLEY. Let me get what you mean. Stand by which recommendation?

Mr. CASEY. You said that you made the recommendation which he read.

Mr. PELLEY. No. I said that people in this country—I made the recommendation on the segregation as an alternative.

Mr. CASEY. But you don't go along with it?

Mr. PELLEY. I do not, and I can bring copies of the publication in which I disapprove of the atrocious idea of sterilization as it has been published in the last 3 months.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, I have here several issues of *Liberation* each of which contains certain rather violent attacks on the Dies committee. One pamphlet here is devoted very largely to that. I would like to know—

Mr. STARNES. I am going to rule that question improper.

Mr. VOORHIS. I haven't even finished the question.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, may I say one word?

Mr. STARNES. I would hate very much to believe or to think that an attack on the members of this committee—

Mr. VOORHIS. If somebody attacks this committee—

Mr. STARNES. Are you a member of this committee?

Mr. VOORHIS. It is not what I am—

Mr. STARNES. If any people disagree with the work of this committee and do not approve of it, it is quite proper and quite American for them to attack it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I can make it very plain—

Mr. THOMAS. I think he ought to be allowed to finish his question, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. My question was this: Mr. Pelley, as you have a perfect right to do, you have in this publication very publicly criticized the committee; but you say today that you heartily approve of it. I am wondering what changed your mind.

Mr. PELLEY. One of the things is meeting the committee face to face and learning that they are a fine group of Christian gentlemen.

I have had—and I confess it publicly, to go into the record—within the past 6 weeks a total change of heart toward the work of the Dies committee; and I apologize publicly to each one of you gentlemen and to Mr. Dies, who is not present, for anything up to the present time that has not been entirely pleasant or anything that I have said of a critical nature.

Mr. THOMAS. I wouldn't come to a conclusion, Mr. Pelley, until we are through.

Mr. STARNES. I think frankly that those questions are improper and should be ruled out.

Mr. PELLEY. Don't rule out the apology.

Mr. STARNES. I think they are facetious, and that it does not make any difference for the record whether or not this witness or anybody else likes or dislikes this committee.

Frankly, as one member of the committee, I don't care what his personal opinion about it is or of any other witness that comes before the committee. And I have told every witness that I am not interested in their likes or dislikes. What I am interested in is whether or not this witness has in fact and in truth been connected with any un-American and subversive activities; and I respectfully request the members of the committee to address their questions along that line.

Mr. THOMAS. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was it that changed attitude toward the committee that led you to come in here to testify?

Mr. PELLEY. It was, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. When they could not find you before?

Mr. PELLEY. It was, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, prior to the time I was interrupted a moment ago by some questions which some of the other gentlemen of the committee wanted to propound to you, I was asking you to give us some approximation of the amount of money which you received annually from your members and from outside sources, to give us an approximation. I believe you said that you would submit your income-tax return. But can you give us at this time here some idea of the amount of money that you receive?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I cannot, Mr. Chairman. I would if I could, but I cannot.

Mr. STARNES. But you will produce your records for the committee?

Mr. PELLEY. I will. I will be delighted.

Mr. STARNES. Are you in a position to bring them to us tomorrow, at a session that is to be held tomorrow?

Mr. PELLEY. It is pretty short notice. I could do it in 48 hours.

MR. STARNES. All right.

MR. PELLEY. Let me qualify that, Mr. Starnes. The reason for that is this:

Due to the unfortunate recommendations that were made in regard to me by Mr. Barkley and the Income Tax Bureau, the Bureau of Federal Revenue has possession of all my books at the present time. I have had a day of very friendly conference with them. They have found my income tax, as they understand it, approximately correct as turned in to the Federal Government.

The books being in their hands, I have got to check and find out or get it from people who are more conversant with it than I am. I could call over the telephone tonight and find out from my Asheville office and have a report over the telephone from someone at Asheville here overnight. But I have nothing to hide in any way, shape, or manner regarding it.

Might I put this in the record, too, Mr. Starnes, if it is not irrelevant: Of the \$200,000 which I am accredited with having received over a period of 8 years, I would say that not over 40 percent of that has had anything to do with the Silver Legion or political or economic work or any esoteric publication. It had nothing to do with the Jewish question or my patriotic belief.

MR. MASON. Mr. Pelley, you have now given us an approximation of it, because 40 percent of \$200,000 is \$80,000; and that over a period of 8 years would be an average of \$10,000.

MR. PELLEY. That is right; and I don't think that that is far off, Mr. Mason.

MR. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, do you honestly believe that the President personally appropriated the funds collected in the infantile paralysis drives? I think that that was a very scurrilous thing to say about anybody.

MR. STARNES. Mr. Voorhis, I cannot see that that line of questions is pertinent. I think you are going too far afield.

MR. VOORHIS. It seems to me that—

MR. STARNES. There may be a lot of things that all of us as individuals might think were scurrilous that certainly would not come within the scope of a congressional investigation of what are un-American and subversive activities.

I do hope that you gentlemen will please confine your questions to that, and I shall ask this witness, and insist that he confine his answers and make them responsive to the relevant questions concerning un-American and subversive activities.

It seems to me that we have reached a point where it may be necessary to interrogate this witness at length concerning financial transactions of the Silver League and its affiliates, if it has any affiliates. We have the assurance that we will probably have the assistance of the investigator in that connection in the morning.

In further view of the fact that it will be necessary for him to get in touch with the Bureau of Internal Revenue, either here in Washington or through the Asheville office, to obtain certain data for presentation in order to answer the questions propounded to him, I am going to suggest at this time that we adjourn, to meet tentatively in the morning at 10:30.

MR. THOMAS. Before getting to the question of adjournment, Mr. Pelley mentioned that the F. B. I. had made an investigation of his

organization as late as May of 1939. We should certainly know what the result of that investigation was; and I personally cannot understand why the Department of Justice has not given us the facts as they found them. And I suggest that the clerk of the committee write the Department of Justice and ask for a report.

Mr. STARNES. That is a matter that we will take up in executive session.

Now, Mr. Pelley, you are under subpoena from the committee and will return to the committee tomorrow morning at the hour set and at any hour set until you are told not to return. You will return tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 3:50 p. m., an adjournment was taken until the next day, Thursday, February 8, 1940, at 10:30 a. m.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m.

Present: Mr. Starnes (acting chairman), Mr. Dempsey, Mr. Voorhis, Mr. Casey, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Thomas.

## STATEMENT OF WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY—Resumed

MR. STARNES. The committee will come to order. At the time we adjourned yesterday the Chair had ruled as improper a question asked by our very able, conscientious, lovable colleague from California, Mr. Voorhis, concerning an alleged statement or publication by the witness to the effect that the President of the United States had converted funds raised by the Infantile Paralysis Campaign in this country to his own personal use, or words to that effect. The Chair ruled the question to be improper.

The Chair did not mean to be arbitrary in its manner or in its ruling; but the committee has been criticized by some of its own members, including the gentleman who propounded the question, for the procedure of the committee in permitting witnesses to use this committee as a background for issuing statements or making declarations about Government officials that were derogatory and defamatory in their scope, extent, and character, and probably were not responsive to the questions. The Chair felt that the question on its face was a personal matter, and for that reason instructed the witness not to reply thereto, because the Chair felt that if the witness replied thereto, it would give the witness an opportunity to say something of a personal nature against the President of the United States. That was the reason that the Chair ruled as it did.

The Chair further states that he knows nothing of the alleged statement, and does not believe that any such statement is true if it was made, and would not countenance such a statement being made before the committee. In fact, that was the reason the Chair ruled that the question was not proper and instructed the witness not to reply thereto.

Now, we will resume the examination of the witness.

Mr. Pelley, you have been sworn previously; so it is not necessary to swear you again.

I wish to ask you some questions concerning the Silver Shirt movement.

Did you have a form of application that was used by those who desired to become members of the Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. I did, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. I hand you here what purports to be an application blank to be signed by one who desires to become a member of the Silver Shirt Legion.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Can you identify that as being one of the blanks?

Mr. PELLEY. I identify that as one of the very early ones, probably the first one.

Mr. STARNES. We will incorporate that in the record at this point in full.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

# SILVER SHIRT ENROLLMENT APPLICATION

## CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION

(Please use ink and fill out in longhand)

Date \_\_\_\_\_, 1933.

GENERAL STAFF.

*Silver Shirts of America, Asheville, N. C.*

I HEREBY make application for enrollment as a Silver Shirt of America in the Post of the city \_\_\_\_\_ state of \_\_\_\_\_ and submit the following Confidential Data concerning my fitness for admittance:

FULL BAPTIZED NAME \_\_\_\_\_  
Please print

MARRIED NAME (If a woman) \_\_\_\_\_  
Please print

PRESENT ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_  
Street City State

## CONFIDENTIAL DATA

Place of Birth \_\_\_\_\_

Date of Birth \_\_\_\_\_ Exact Hour and Minute \_\_\_\_\_

My Racial Extraction \_\_\_\_\_

I was christened in following Faith \_\_\_\_\_

Father's Name \_\_\_\_\_

Father's Birthplace \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's Maiden Name in Full \_\_\_\_\_

Mother's Birthplace \_\_\_\_\_

Maiden Name of Present Wife \_\_\_\_\_

Full Baptized Name of Husband (if a woman) \_\_\_\_\_

Children \_\_\_\_\_ sons; \_\_\_\_\_ daughters

My Schooling \_\_\_\_\_

My Family Physician's Name and Address is \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Profession, Trade or Vocation \_\_\_\_\_

Lodge Affiliations \_\_\_\_\_

My last Employer \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Previous Politics \_\_\_\_\_

Color of Hair \_\_\_\_\_ Color of Eyes \_\_\_\_\_

Weight \_\_\_\_\_ Height \_\_\_\_\_

Physical Disabilities, if any \_\_\_\_\_

Military Experience, if any \_\_\_\_\_

My average Normal Income from Profession or Trade \$ \_\_\_\_\_

I have banked in following Bank \_\_\_\_\_

I own following Real Estate at present \_\_\_\_\_

## REFERENCES FOR RESPONSIBILITY

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Name -----  
 Address -----  
 Name -----  
 Address -----  
 Proposed and Endorsed by -----

IMPORTANT—Enclose Photograph or Snapshot of Yourself.

I have submitted the above in full realization of the issues that are facing my nation, having seriously studied the knowledge offered by Liberation and the Silver Legion, and the principles of the Christ, Whom I serve in the present world crisis.

Signed -----

Mr. STARNES. I notice that you ask for certain confidential data here. You ask for the racial extraction of the proposed enrollee.

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Was your membership limited to any particular race or racial extraction?

Mr. PELLEY. My membership at that time, according to the stipulations of the constitution and the by-laws, was strictly a Christian organization. Thereby by elimination it would have the censorship of people of the Judaistic faith. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Was there any restriction on the person who desired to become a member so far as his place of birth was concerned?

Mr. PELLEY. He must be either an American native or naturalized.

Mr. STARNES. I notice that you want to know here the exact hour and minute and date of birth. Was there any particular reason for a question of that type and character?

Mr. PELLEY. Not from the political and economic standpoint. That is more or less of a metaphysical question.

Mr. STARNES. It is a metaphysical question?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Were you concerned with the question of your membership's politics?

Mr. PELLEY. Not necessarily. I wanted to know their Americanism; not their politics.

Mr. STARNES. I notice that you ask here, "Give previous politics."

Mr. PELLEY. There is no special significance to that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, did you ever have any type of military organization in connection with the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. Military in the sense of arms?

Mr. STARNES. No.

Mr. PELLEY. Or military in the sense of an identifying uniform?

Mr. STARNES. Both or either.

Mr. PELLEY. We had a military, I will use the word, set-up, insofar as the regalia was concerned; but no arms have ever been connected with the organization, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. STARNES. But you did have a military set-up in that you had a commander-in-chief, a chief of staff, and State commanders in the original inception of the movement?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. Did you give any type of military instruction to the membership? Did you ever give any type of military instruction or training?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I notice one question that you ask in this enrollment blank is "military experience, if any." What was the purpose of that?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, when the Silver Legion was organized we had a totally different condition in the United States than we are enjoying now in 1940. At the beginning of the Silver Legion's work all of the things that the Dies committee has succeeded in uncovering as to subversive activities in this country were known to the heads and the founders of the Silver Legion movement.

We saw this menace, which we could get no congressional committee at that time to take any cognizance of whatever; and therefore I ask the indulgence of the committee in this respect—that we were looking at a condition where there might be a complete overthrow of orderly constitutional government in the United States; and under our assumed constitutional prerogative we were preparing for that only. Nowhere do I know of any intention or specific statement that we had any designs on the present form of government of the United States.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have an organization in Washington, D. C., in the beginning, or at any time since the inception of your movement?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I don't recall that we did.

Mr. STARNES. You stated on yesterday that at the present time you had organizations in 22 States, and they were spontaneous in a way.

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. In that they just sprang up in the various States.

Mr. PELLEY. People would get hold of the literature and become interested and specify a desire to form a unit.

Mr. STARNES. Did you require an oath of enlistment on the part of your Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. We did at the very beginning. And then it was taking the status of a secret organization, and we had no real design to follow that type of procedure. We had nothing to conceal particularly. Anybody could qualify who subscribed to our fundamental principles.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have a copy of that oath with you? Or can you make a copy available for the committee?

Mr. PELLEY. I should be delighted. But that was abandoned in 1934 or 1935, and has never been used since.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could you repeat the oath?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I could not.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't remember it?

Mr. PELLEY. It is approximately a subscription to the sentiments that I read to you gentlemen yesterday in regard to the material on the charter.

Mr. STARNES. Then at its inception, and certainly during the early period of its organization, if not down to the present time, you had a military concept insofar as the organization was concerned, the actual physical set-up of your organization? Is that correct?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct. Aimed at, as I say, an emphasis on the possibility of a very serious communistic inroad into our present form of government.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. Robert C. Summerville?

Mr. PELLEY. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Who is Mr. Robert C. Summerville?

Mr. PELLEY. He is a young man who joined my office force in 1931 in New York City, and remained as managing editor of one of my publications until about 1936, since which time he has not been associated with me.

Mr. STARNES. Since 1936?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. He is a New Yorker, I understand you to say?

Mr. PELLEY. He joined my force in New York. I believe he came originally from Chicago.

Mr. STARNES. Was he a member of your organization in November 1933?

Mr. PELLEY. November 1933? Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In what capacity was he acting at that time in the national headquarters?

Mr. PELLEY. Associate editor of the publication *Liberation*; and he also handled a certain amount of the correspondence that came in apropos of the Legion's work. I can't recall if he had any official title or what it was. However, I could refresh my memory on that perhaps at another session.

Mr. STARNES. You would be familiar with his handwriting? You could identify his handwriting?

Mr. PELLEY. I could.

Mr. STARNES. I hand you herewith a letter under date of November 14, 1933, from Asheville, N. C., which is signed "Cordially yours, National Headquarters, Robert C. Summerville"; and I ask you to look at that and see if you can identify his signature.

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Now, there is an excerpt or a quotation that I want to insert in the record and ask you a question with reference thereto. It is contained in this letter. We will insert the entire letter in the record.

(The paper referred to reads as follows:)

The first essential is for you to become a member of the Silver Legion, and to this end I have enclosed a pink slip and Enrollment Application. When these are returned, together with a small photo of yourself, you will be entitled to step into the more private knowledge which incurs the responsibility of serious action on your part. You will then also receive your Certificate of Membership and National Number.

For the past few years we have been engaged in a nationwide research into all the agencies and elements responsible for the present debauchery of our Christian institutions, as well as our national economic situation. Because of the appalling facts which this research has uncovered, particularly the activities of the International group to overthrow our government, we are now active in the promotion of a growing Christian militia which holds every prospect of taking the national situation by the horns and performing a serious setback to the activities of these predatory forces.

We can give you no better outline of our entirely constructive program than to send you an issue of the *Liberation Weekly*, our national organ, together with the enclosed. All members of the Silver Legion receive the *Liberation Weekly*, in order to be fully informed of the Silver Shirt activity and progress.

We eagerly await your reaction to this material, and stand ready to give you further details, together with a strong cooperation in your territory. The time is coming when those of us who have a sterling patriotism that can be neither debauched, intimidated, nor subverted, must stand shoulder to shoulder to preserve a nation that was once American.

Awaiting your further pleasure in the matter and trusting you will carry on to becoming a Silver Shirt, I am

Mr. STARNES. We will take one excerpt from this letter now.

We are now active in the promotion of a growing Christian militia which holds every prospect of taking the national situation by the horns and performing a serious setback to the activities of these predatory forces.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What explanation have you to make concerning a statement of this type and character?

Mr. PELLEY. The predatory forces are the exact interests, subversive and otherwise, that I just identified.

But, Mr. Chairman, may I state this very strongly: When I discovered—and I am not attempting to whitewash myself on it—when I discovered the inefficiency and misinterpretation that was growing out of Mr. Summerville's letters as to what we were trying to do, that was the reason why we parted company.

Mr. Summerville, with all due respect to the young man—he is only about 25 years of age—I discovered had written many letters around the country of which I did not approve and which caused me considerable grief and heartburn. That is not an alibi of any letters that he might have written while he was in my employ. But I cannot subscribe to all of the things which he put in which I did not know were going out.

Mr. STARNES. Can you subscribe to this statement, "We are now active in the promotion of a growing Christian militia which holds every prospect of taking the national situation by the horns and performing a serious setback to the activities of these predatory forces"?

Mr. PELLEY. The predatory forces that Robert was talking about there was the event of a communistic revolution.

Now, that particular word "militia" sounds very menacing, but it is a common military term describing a group of men that come together aggressively to uphold any principle.

Mr. STARNES. What did you mean in using the term "Christian militia"? Does not that appear in some of your later publications and later statements?

Mr. PELLEY. I would define that as a group of young men who were patriotically inclined to defend their country, who were Christian by religious faith strictly.

Mr. STARNES. How do you define "militia"?

Mr. PELLEY. I define "militia" as a group of young men who may eventually have to bear arms in a military manner, not necessarily doing it in such a situation as we are discussing now.

In other words—and I am not trying to alibi the nature of the concern at its inception—I am saying that an organization like the Silver Legion, with a 7-year growth, should be judged, in my humble opinion, by what it has done, not by what one lone young man may write in correspondence with a distant city.

We have not aggressively attempted any activity of a type which might be called a military menace to the United States in the militia form or any other form; and I submit the record of the concern over 7 years. We have had no military drilling. We have had no guns or ammunition that I am aware of.

Mr. STARNES. You can see, Mr. Pelley, the clear implication of his actual declaration here that the organization, I mean, that the Silver Shirt Legion was interested in setting up a form of militia.

Mr. PELLEY. I can, Mr. Chairman; and I disapprove of it; and Mr. Summerville is no longer in my employ, and I would not countenance propaganda going out that we were interested in overthrowing or jeopardizing—menacing is the word—

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Pelley is making statements, and I think he should be confined to answering the question; not to go on and make statements.

Mr. PELLEY. I am trying very hard to answer.

Mr. STARNES. Make your reply as responsive as you can.

Mr. PELLEY. I will do so.

Mr. STARNES. You kept this young man, however, in your employ for a period of 3 years?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And almost 3 years after that letter was written, since it was written in November 1933?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, does that require an answer?

Mr. STARNES. That is your answer, that you did do it.

Mr. PELLEY. I did do it; yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, when you sent out instructions to your membership throughout the country, Mr. Pelley, you sent them out in the form of official dispatches—is that correct—from the national headquarters?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I have here what purports to be Official Dispatch No. 1 from the Silver Legion Headquarters in Asheville, N. C. Will you examine that and see if that is authentic, that you sent this out to the membership of the legion throughout the country?

Mr. PELLEY. You merely want me to identify this as one of our documents?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. That is quite lengthy, and we will introduce that as an exhibit to the witness' testimony.

(The document referred to, entitled "Official Dispatch No. 1," is attached as an exhibit hereto.)

SILVER LEGION HEADQUARTERS,  
Asheville, N. C.

Official Dispatch No. 1:

It is essential for you to know what we are fighting for, what we propose to accomplish, and something of how we propose to accomplish it. The broad-sides of expose material which we have fired throughout this nation have forced the public malefactors to take note of us and rumblings are coming to our attention of aggressive activity taken against us which may show upon the surface at any time. Having discovered to their own amazement how easy it is, under the hysteria of a national emergency, to set aside our Constitutional rights in the matter of owning gold on which our whole currency system has been founded since the days of Alexander Hamilton, and to set up the instrumentality for a Soviet Dictatorship right here in America in the guise of the N-R-A, it may not be much longer before they arrogantly abrogate our Constitutional rights of a free press and free speech and say that no institution or no individual shall have the privilege of uttering any criticism against them, or discuss publicly what they are doing to make their alien autocracy complete.

If, as, and when this happens, it must be a point of honor with you to take it as a signal for a galvanism of activity in your particular locality. You must then carry on promotion of the work by word of mouth, considering yourself a little distributing point of information and peaceful agitation. Unfortunately, so low has the public morale sunken in this country, that thus must we free-

men fight individually for our Constitutional rights against a group of aliens, thousands of whom have no right in this country at all, under our immigration laws, but who have so securely entrenched themselves in official positions that any public remonstrance against them is ignored, suppressed, or subverted for their own purposes.

As you have been advised, The Silver Legion of America is a Christian Militia, only soliciting for its fighting ranks those men and women of Christian faith and American citizenship whose paramount ideal is not only to restore inviolate our republican form of institutions politically—understand, I do not mean the Republican party—but see that they are administered strictly by people of their own faith and ideals. That is our first tenet.

We declare to the nation that we stand for the absolute and impeccable integrity of the United States of America and its representative form of government envisioned and projected by the Continental Fathers, and for the Constitution of the United States in its moral and economic essence. There can be, and will be, no deviation from this affirmation at any time, and may our detractors so note. *We are the unalterable foci of the Russian-Jewish form of Communist government, against which Adolph Hitler is making such a gritty and successful stand at the present time.* We waste no sympathy for those who are complaining of being "persecuted" for we have secret knowledge that they are whining at treatment which they meted out to the *German Fatherland* without let or hindrance since long before the war, until they had brought Germany almost down to ruin. The same elements are doing the same thing here in America under cover, only with this difference from Germany, that our people have yet to find it out and recognize its grim reality as the chief motivating factor behind a continuance of the Depression.

The Silver Legion proposes to obtain their objectives, primarily by political means, peacefully, lawfully, and without violence. Nevertheless they do not constitute a strictly political organization. They enlist under the Liberation Banner the great moral force that is Christianity in its essence, to see that the principles of The Christ are carried out equitably and practically in every avenue of everyday life. They will not stand for the country being dominated and conducted by an alien people whose ideas and ethics are not our ideas and ethics, and who openly sneer at our Christ of the Immaculate Conception as "Christ the Bastard." This is *our* country, founded by *our* forefathers, who gave their blood and lives to hand us a political and cultural heritage that is our obligation to keep unsullied. We propose to keep it unsullied. But how?

The biggest obstruction which we have to clean, orderly, and wholesome Representative Government, which we confront in America today, is the presence in the social body of a voracious and unrestrained Money-Power, chiefly directed by outstanding leaders of this predatory and non-social people among us, whom we know, by translation of their own documents in their own press, are set on bending all social, political, and economic institutions to the world enhancement of their own people, declaring "that they will yet have us serfs on our own land within a generation."

We have no quarrel with any individual member of this element. No racial prejudices enter into our program. But we view with clear eyes the effective permeating of agents of this element into our free government, our political offices, our fiscal and currency system, our patriotic organizations, and even into our religious denominations, despoiling and subverting deliberately and maliciously, their avowed intention being to emasculate any opposition that tends to effectively circumscribe them in their megalomaniacal objectives.

Temporary success seems to have crowned their subtle maneuverings, but no good purpose is served by detailing specific depredations. We have no desire to unnecessarily inflame the public passions or start reprisals of violence. We do recognize, however, that specific leaders and agents have obtained an unhallowed control over certain public offices of colossal influence in our government, either by appointment or election in their own persons, or by various forms of duress over representatives of other faiths and bloods, such duress not always recognized for that which it is. Enticements to political advantage, money loans of a quite harmless nature which later prove embarrassing to pay back, the support of influential journals in their behalf through money loans or advertising patronage, or invitations to participate in quite legitimate but heavily profitable undertakings, have placed hundreds of our finest public men in positions where they find themselves morally obligated to accede to requests, propositions, or demands, tending to fasten

the tentacles of this alien Money Octopus with ever increasing tenacity and rapacity on our institutions of social control and debauch their essential integrity.

We Silver Shirts have had a Mentorship, the nature of which need not enter into its practical instructions, that has shown us a way by which this predatory power can be smashed and destroyed by one clean-cut thrust into its black heart. The recommendation we have been giving is neither radical nor visionary. It is the Great Foundation Stone on which all American political institutions as conceived by the Continental Fathers are supposed to rest. We make in Plank One of our Militant Platform of public service for a finer public probity. We phrase it in this manner:—

We declare that the democracy as projected in America between the years 1776 and 1789 had as its essence the right of a free people TO GOVERN THEMSELVES. But we Silver Shirts stand unalterably and irrevocably for a true and effective interpretation of that inalienable right, of which our Constitution says so much. We maintain that at the present time it exists as a nominal right only, and because it is only a nominal right and not actually in effect, we have the spectacle and indignity of a voracious and uncontrolled Money-Band able to exercise an unhallowed influence over the people's representatives.

We would not make any radical change in our political institutions. We would not abolish a single office in the government of the American people as set up by the Continental Fathers. But we say, with a thunderous voice and a flashing eye, that the functionaries in all those offices shall not only derive their power from the elective vote of the people but shall, at all times, be subject to the elective approval of the people.

We approve of no NOMINAL democracy which declares that the populace shall merely have the dubious privilege of naming and dethroning as many little legislative autocracies as there may be legislators in the 48 American States.

We say that the hour by hour legislative enactments of such legislators shall in nowise become law in any instance until those whom those legislators affect to represent shall have put their majority stamp of approval on that which has been enacted as law for them to obey and respect.

Such a measure means that the form of government instigated by the Continental Fathers then becomes a living reality, and not a farcical election in every campaign of a great kingly bureaucracy secure against any reprisals for that which they do, until the succeeding election.

We maintain that a system should be instigated at once in administrative affairs universally, that is now in effect partially in the State of Vermont. It is the law that at the close of each legislative session in Vermont, there shall be sent to the public printer a complete transcript of all legislation which has passed both houses of that State during the session. The entire circulation figures of all the daily and weekly newspapers in Vermont is then compiled, and when such compendium of new legislation is completed in the printed booklet form, one copy is dispatched to every subscriber or reader of a newspaper in the State.

This is done in Vermont, despite the expense, to make certain that the people are acquainted with all the decrees and enactments which have become new laws in the commonwealth during that session.

We Silver Shirts maintain that if the small State of Vermont can so effectively compile, print, and distribute to every newspaper reader in the State, a complete compendium of its new legislation, that all States in the Union, as well as the Federal Government, can supply each voter at least monthly with a terse, understandable DIGEST of each and every bill that is brought up to be made into law by either State or National assemblies.

We maintain that the digest of such bills shall have spaces left thereunder for the expression of an aye or nay vote by John Smith, citizen, who is to be called upon to circumscribe himself by such laws and enactments. He shall read the Compendium and so register his approval or disapproval of such legislation. He shall then mail such Compendium under a free government frank to the properly appointed officer in the State or Federal Government, with whom his signature is on file by right of his being a voting citizen. If there is not a 51 percent vote of approval for such legislation from the given quota of voters to whom the legislation is to apply, it shall not become law, nor be considered as law, and the citizen is under no obligation to abide by it or pay any attention whatsoever to it.

We maintain that only by such constant direct Referendum to the People, can the people keep a control on their republican institutions, preserve truly representative government, and exercise a wholesome influence over those they elect to originate and debate such legislation.

We maintain that 75 percent of the legislation which is enacted, either by City Councils, State assemblies, or the Federal Congress, from session to session, presents in some form or other the economic interest of private groups, or individuals, who by connivance with fallible representatives or party leaders, legitimate or illegitimate, have worked to get such legislation made law, that the whole people may become subservient to their desires or interests in some form or other.

We maintain that more than half the troubles with which the general public is afflicted at the present time, come from unwise, unhallowed, immoral, or partisan enactments against which the public has no redress until after mischief has been perpetrated on them; and even then they must wait two to four years to dethrone those who have so distressed them.

If a specific Representative or Senator knew in advance that any bill which he might bring into a governmental assembly was required to receive a majority endorsement from those who elected him, his psychology might become so altered that for the first time in American history he would think of the reaction of his bill on the public IN FACT instead of in theory. The public on the other hand, would become the real makers of law. And why not, since they are those who must obey such law?

True it is, that public enemies in the presence of voracious and rapacious members of an alien money-bund are in unquestioned control of most of the organs and instruments of public opinion that are of any influence worth mentioning, but in hundreds of instances the expense and trouble of thus deliberately creating a supporting public opinion would be so great as to act as a wholesome deterrent on the general trend of autocratic legislation.

For the first time in American history, too, lawmakers would have to come before the public and explain their pet legislative schemes so that the general public can grasp them, not "slip over" scheme after scheme and appropriation after appropriation, by merely treating with a handful of very human and culpable men.

If the people of a free democracy have not the right to pass on the nature and utility of their own laws, or cannot be trusted to understand and pass judgment on their own laws, then their democracy is a farce AND THEY HAVE NO DEMOCRACY. They are living under a bureaucratic oligarchy, and the sooner we face the fact, the better.

A freeman who has not the right and privilege of saying which laws he shall live under and obey, by a majority vote of himself and his fellows, is a political serf. Electing those who originate and debate legislation is not enough. If a citizen is qualified to vote for a man to make laws for him, or to propose laws under the Direct Referendum, he is quite capable of approving or disapproving of the laws which that representative creates, and whose fiat he must conform to, in his private affairs.

If it is argued that such a practice would hinder and deter the quick passage of legislation, we answer thunderously that we have to live under such laws for long periods of time. A little delay enforced in the making of laws will result in few laws and better laws, and laws which will be better obeyed because citizens in the majority have approved of them. It will furthermore begin to awaken the citizen to the fact that he actually has a voice in his government, not the mere "privilege" of going to the polls every two or four years and designating which of two rascals shall frequently connive with the lobbyists of the Money-Bund to lord it over him or subject him to various forms of confiscation or spoliation.

We, Silver Shirts, have other remedies that ARE remedies for the prevailing public distemper. We have been given a complete agenda of the new Democracy truly based on the Principles of Christ, which is available for every citizen who desires to know what form of metamorphosed institutions are going to rear themselves on the debris of all this present venery and economic distress. This short despatch is not the place to discuss them. We present to you herewith a new policy in democracy that is the very antithesis of anything socialistic or communistic, and that will be devastating in its control of the present unrestrained Money Powers.

We are organizing by State Encampments, 48 of them, with Posts in every community where a majority of the Christian people are sickened of all this un-

hallowed and extended rape of our highest ideals and the debauchery of our excellent democratic form of representative government. These Posts admit men and women on equal footing. At National Headquarters there is a General Staff comprising five officers: The Chief, The Chamberlain, The Quartermaster, the Sheriff, and the Censor. Over each State there is a Commander, an Adjutant, a Purser, a Bailiff, and a Solicitor. Over each Post there is a Chaplain, a Scribe, an Ahnener, a Marshal, and an Advocate. The men members of these Posts are uniformed in shirts of a beautiful Silver-Gray with a large brilliant "L" worked in red silk on the left breast. The uniformed trousers are corduroy knickers of blue with puttees or long socks. On the blue fore-in-hand tie is woven or pinned the Silver-Shirt's national number. There are no two similar numbers in the entire nation.

These are but cursory details of something which has been worked out in the most minute form, with one of the most beautiful Consecration Services that is conducted by any Christian organization in America. *This great Christian Militia, nation-wide in its ramifications*, means to suddenly become an *active, dynamic, vigilante organization* that shall not only take definite measures against the present lawless and predatory elements rampant throughout our debauched and distressed country today, but put in political office men from its own ranks, pledged to its own principles, who shall carry out a startling innovation in the furtherance of our American Democracy.

There is an entirely sound and feasible plan afoot for the INCORPORATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA INTO A COLLOSSUS CORPORATION in which the present government officers shall be the officials but where every citizen shall become thereafter both a Common and a Preferred Stockholder, entitled to both the privileges and dividends of corporation stockholders, and putting production on the basis of consumption throughout the whole nation, and distributing its increment as a vast business concern according to its citizens' holdings of its securities.

That plan is too big and dynamic to describe here. But the Silver Shirts are not theorists. They have an entirely new principle in republican government that will lift the United States out of this stalemate within twenty-four hours from going into effect. Much of what they advocate and are working for, will write new American history. But the public has been clamoring for relief and leadership.

In the Silver Shirts the country has got leadership—leadership that knows what the depredations of the predatory element are, how to fight and end them, how to coop and restrain them permanently from any repetition of such diablerie as they have inflicted on this nation up to the present.

It costs only \$10 to become a Silver Shirt. If you are one of those whom national conditions have stripped down to your last penny and you still want to fight for the principles activating the Silver Legion, write to National Headquarters for a Plan whereby the very real cost of furnishing literature to you may be covered. Further details are contained in The Silver Shirt manual, which, however, is not sent to mere curiosity seekers. Prospective Posts are designated as Rallies until they have been consecrated by the Consecration Services. Then both staff and members are informed definitely just what work needs to be done, how to set about doing it, and how to begin setting up a slate of political officers in all the 48 States for a new order of things here in America.

This is OUR country, founded in certain inalienable rights, and consecrated to the perpetuation of definite Christian ideals and customs of living. We propose without further ado, without equivocation, without any silly sentimentality sometimes known as Tolerance, to emasculate the debauchers within the social body and reestablish America on a basis where this spoilation can never again be repeated.

It can be done, and we know how to do it. Proof that we know what we are talking about lies in the fact that the public spoilers consider it necessary to utter death threats against the Chief of The Silver Shirts if he persists in his activities. Headquarters is already being subjected to threats, intimidations, and other forms of duress. This would not be happening unless we were doing a work, or had "gotten hold of something" which other organizations in America have not.

This is not "another organization." We hold no banquets. We waste small time in speech making. A multitude of people throughout America are receiving and absorbing information on the Public Spoilers weekly through Silver Shirt agencies. The number is growing wherever there is distress but

no leadership, only promises, delay, procrastination, and makeshift expedient that get nowhere.

The Silver Legion comes to Christian citizens who want ACTION and says: "We will give it to you, pressed down and overflowing. We leaders are risking our lives to write a new page in American history. We do not propose to see America made the rag-bag and wastebasket for an element that HITLER is controlling in Germany, to have it transfer its predatory tactics wholesale over here into the United States, run our institutions high, wide, and handsome, and dictate to us what we as Anglo-Saxon freemen and native sons shall do, with an economic club over us if we refuse."

If you are 18 years of age, of reasonably sound health, and not afraid to risk your life and limb for your country, you are asked to take the Oath of Consecration upon you, and step out as a TRUE CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, garbed in a shirt of Silver, with the great scarlet "L" emblazoned on your Banner and over your heart, standing for Love, Loyalty, and Liberation.

If you are a weakling, or given to compromise, sentimentality, docile acquiescence, to intimidation, and nonentity in general, you are not wanted in this organization, which knows where it is going, and exactly what it proposes to accomplish. No Money-Band currency is supporting *this fighting Christian Militia*. Its funds come from its members only. Most of them are assuring themselves of every scrap of information about Silver Shirt activities by sending in \$10 to the Silver Shirt War Chest, which enables them to use the Enrollment Application and if approved to enter into Post activity.

We are marching with the times! Our Battle Hymn is "Onward, Christian Soldiers." ARE YOU WITH US? WILL YOU AID IN HELPING TO ACTUALIZE THE TRUE DEMOCRACY OF JESUS THE CHRIST, RIGHT HERE IN THESE TORTURED UNITED STATES?

Mr. STARNES. I notice in this first dispatch the following:

As you have been advised, the Silver Legion of America is a Christian militia.

That is a correct statement of what the organization was at that time?

Mr. PELLEY. That is the form of terminology that we employed at that time. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I again quote from this Official Dispatch No. 1:

We are the unalterable foes of the Russian-Jewish form of communistic government, against which Adolph Hitler is making such a gritty and successful stand at the present time.

That was an official expression on the part of the organization at that time? This is your Official Dispatch No. 1?

Mr. PELLEY. I would assume so. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I note here and I quote:

We waste no sympathy for those who are complaining of being persecuted, for we have secret knowledge that they are whining at treatment which they meted out to the German Fatherland without let or hindrance since long before the war, until they had brought Germany almost down to ruin.

Just what significance did "German Fatherland" have to you?

Mr. PELLEY. No significance whatever, Mr. Chairman. Merely an identification. At least, no significance as it applied to our principles, of the organization or personally.

Mr. STARNES. Did it have any significance, any connection at that time between your organization and the National Socialist Party?

Mr. PELLEY. It did not, sir, and never has had since.

Mr. STARNES. I quote from this same Official Dispatch No. 1:

We are organizing by state encampments.

Then I quote further:

These posts admit men and women on equal footing. At National Headquarters there is a general staff comprising five officers: The Chief, The

Chamberlain, The Quartermaster, The Sheriff, and The Censor. Over each state there is a Commander, an Adjutant, a Purser, a Bailiff, and a Solicitor. Over each post there is a Chaplain, a Scribe, an Almoner, a Marshal, and an Advocate.

That, of course, is a corroboration of your oral testimony to the effect that in its inception your organization was organized along military lines, and you used military terminology in designating certain of the officers, and that you also used military tactics, we will say, or usages in sending out information and instructions to your posts, and membership throughout the country?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir. Qualified by this statement: That all of it was abandoned in 1934. It has not been practiced since.

Mr. STARNES. I am particularly intrigued by this word here "the Censor" in the general staff. Why was it necessary to have a censor? What were the duties of the censor in your national organization?

Mr. PELLEY. No such office ever—I am at a disadvantage, Mr. Chairman, because I have not the full book of the manual here, which I would like to put in your hands.

Have you read the whole thing? I wonder if you have a copy of that, or if it is available—the original manual.

Mr. STARNES. Will you furnish the committee one?

Mr. PELLEY. I should be delighted. And I should like to go into this same matter in executive session, if possible.

Mr. STARNES. We will give you every opportunity at a later session to make a statement concerning that.

Mr. PELLEY. All right.

Mr. STARNES. I quote further from your Official Dispatch No. 1:

This great Christian militia, nation-wide in its ramifications, means to suddenly become an active, dynamic, vigilante organization that shall not only take definite measures against the present lawless and predatory elements rampant throughout our debauched and distressed country today, but put in political office men from its own ranks, pledged to its own principles, who shall carry out a startling innovation in the furtherance of our American democracy.

Now, what do you mean, that this organization was to become a suddenly active and dynamic and vigilante organization on a Nation-wide basis? Just what are the implications contained in that statement?

Mr. PELLEY. The implications are, in the first place, that the principles of the Silver Legion, if endorsed by a 51 percent support of the American people, I would consider to be American in essence.

Mr. STARNES. But you did not put that explanatory note in this dispatch, did you, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Perhaps not, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. You merely stated that it was a great Christian militia with Nation-wide ramifications, which means to, in other words, it was its intent, to become a suddenly active, dynamic, and vigilante organization.

Mr. PELLEY. Very good. You are questioning now my motive? You are discussing motives?

Mr. STARNES. I want an explanation of this statement.

Mr. PELLEY. I am trying to give you an intelligent answer. You are discussing motive, why I did it?

Mr. STARNES. No. I want to know the ramifications of that statement. Just what did you mean? Yes. We will put it that way.

What did you mean, that it was going to be an organization of that type?

Mr. PELLEY. I meant if we got enough people throughout the United States to subscribe to what we were promulgating, naturally—I don't know if I can answer this—we would not endorse, Mr. Chairman, people who were for political office whose views were contrary to our own.

That is an inverse way of answering your question; but I am trying to show that we laid down certain Christian principles of what we would like; and we attempted to convert people in a fair, open, above-board, American way by our literature and our subscriptions. They could take it or leave it.

Mr. STARNES. Now, I would like you to comment on another quotation from this Official Dispatch No. 1. [Reading:]

The Silver Legion comes to Christian citizens who want *action*—

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. "Action" is italicized. "and says: 'We will give it'"—and here you quote in your dispatch—

We will give it to you, pressed down and overflowing. We leaders are risking our lives to write a new page in American history. We do not propose to see America made the rag-bag and wastebasket for an element that Hitler is controlling in Germany.

What is your comment on that?

Mr. PELLEY. Isn't that exactly what the Dies committee is doing? I don't mean to ask a question. Pardon me. I will retract that. I don't mean that. I don't mean to ask a question of you, Mr. Chairman.

I mean that at that time that was our rather ebullient method of presenting to a prospective support exactly the same principles that the Dies committee later took up in 1938, when we were attempting to call that to the attention of the American people, and when it had become so great that it was taken cognizance of by Congress.

Mr. STARNES. I will say to you that the Dies committee is not advocating anything. The Dies committee is an investigating body. I shall ask you to bear that in mind. It is not an advocating group, but an investigating group.

Mr. PELLEY. Pardon me.

Mr. STARNES. For the further information of the witness, if he does not already know—the public knows generally—this group could not and would not all advocate the same course of action. So it is very improper on the part of the witness to intimate that this committee is advocating anything or taking up any specific program. We are an investigating body and an investigating body only.

Mr. PELLEY. Pardon me, sir.

Mr. STARNES. What was Hitler doing in Germany at that time that you approved of?

Mr. PELLEY. He was putting down the communistic element, the subversive elements generally.

Mr. STARNES. Was that all he was doing at that time?

Mr. PELLEY. I assume so.

Mr. STARNES. Was it confined to any particular group or race?

Mr. PELLEY. What do you mean—was it confined?

Mr. STARNES. Was it directed toward any particular class or group or race or any particular group of people of racial extraction?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You were advocating that and did advocate that as a course of action, Mr. Pelley, for the United States?

Mr. PELLEY. Let me get you straight. Would you please clarify just what you are asking me? I don't understand what you are asking.

Mr. STARNES. You purport here to quote with approval the action, in fact you have spoken approvingly in your first official dispatch, of the work of Hitler.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. And his manner of controlling Germany.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Now, my question is, Do you approve or did you at that time approve of the methods used by Hitler; and was it your purpose and the purpose of your organization and its supporters to foster a program similar to that which Mr. Hitler has used, making your program applicable, of course, to the United States?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean in his totalitarian, economic, and political set-up, or his attitude toward Jewry?

Mr. STARNES. Both.

Mr. PELLEY. I have never advocated a totalitarian government for the United States. I feel exactly as the Nazi Party in Germany felt in regard to Germany, regarding the Jewish element in our population; yes, sir.

I do not necessarily countenance and endorse the methods which Mr. Hitler may have put in vogue, because I have not had any relations with him and don't know them in detail; only by hearsay.

Mr. THOMAS. Was not Hitler himself subversive?

Mr. PELLEY. We have to define what "subversive" means.

Mr. STARNES. Let me ask the gentleman in the interest of orderly procedure to please address the Chair if he wants to ask a question of the witness.

Mr. THOMAS. I was just asking——

Mr. STARNES. Do you wish to ask for information?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. THOMAS. As I understood you, Mr. Pelley, a few moments ago you mentioned the fact that Hitler was trying to control the subversive influences in Germany?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. That was what you said. Now, I will ask you, was not Hitler himself subversive in his own actions?

Mr. PELLEY. You are asking for my opinion in the matter?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. I cannot see how Mr. Hitler would be subversive when he was put into his office by the lawful, legal president of Germany.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, would you carry out that same philosophy with regard to all countries; that is, that any group which

was by the terms of the constitution and entirely under the constitution, which was placed in a position of authority and responsibility, that that would be the group that you would look to as the logical and rightful head of that government? Not a political party. I mean in the United States, for example.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't understand the first part of your question.

Mr. VOORHIS. In answering Mr. Thomas' question you said that you could not see how Hitler could possibly be subversive, because he got his position through the action of the duly elected President of Germany.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to know whether you would carry through consistently that same attitude toward any political group in any nation which attained to its position of responsibility and office in that government by the constitutional methods of that nation.

Mr. PELLEY. I still cannot understand. I am trying to answer the question, Mr. Voorhis. I am trying to get it answered. Is it whether I would advocate for any nation the same thing, the same methods, that Mr. Hitler used in getting into office? Is that your question?

Mr. VOORHIS. Not what you would defend; no, sir. You testified that he got into office by a legal act of the President. You said that that was a constitutional act on his part.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. It seems to me that there are other governments, notably our own at the present time, which were placed there by constitutional activity on the part of the people.

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. I wondered whether you had the same attitude toward it as you have toward Hitler.

Mr. PELLEY. If I understand your question correctly, Mr. Voorhis, my answer is "No."

Mr. VOORHIS. You would not?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. And I think I proved that for over 7 years in my activities and in the nature of what I have put out since.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Pelley, you said you would pursue the same course here with respect to the Jewish people that Hitler pursued in Germany.

Mr. PELLEY. Have you finished the question?

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is your testimony. That is what you said.

Mr. PELLEY. No. Let us not have a misunderstanding between us. I am not saying that I endorse all the tactics that Mr. Hitler used.

Mr. DEMPSEY. No. But you did say that insofar as his attitude toward the Jewish people is concerned you approved of it.

Mr. PELLEY. In the sense that there must be an ultimate control of some sort of what they are doing.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why should the Jewish people be specially selected for this control, in your opinion?

Mr. PELLEY. May I enter into the books of this committee all of my data to that effect, as to why I believe that?

Mr. DEMPSEY. As a race?

Mr. PELLEY. As a race.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think you can answer that very briefly. Why should you select one particular race of people?

Mr. PELLEY. Because I find, Mr. Dempsey, in going into this whole communistic question that it leads right straight down to—if you will take just the origin of communism—it was started by Mr. Marx, whose real name was Mordecai, and if you will read over the correspondence in speaking of communism, you will find that it all leads——

Mr. DEMPSEY. Isn't it still true that an extremely small percentage of the Jewish people are Communists? That is the testimony before this committee.

Mr. PELLEY. What do you call—I am asking for information—what do you call an extremely small percentage? We have statements from some Jewish people that they are 98 percent Communists.

Mr. DEMPSEY. We have statements that not 1 percent probably in this country are Communists. We haven't any idea about how many were in Germany, but we certainly know as to the Communists in this country that people from all races are members.

Mr. PELLEY. That is true.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It is not confined to the Jewish people. Yet you would pursue the same tactics against the Jews in this country that Hitler did in Germany.

Mr. PELLEY. I would not follow all that Mr. Hitler did, and I don't want that to be my testimony.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You said you would as far as the Jewish people were concerned.

Mr. PELLEY. I would attempt to effect a humane control of the influences that are in control of the Jewish policy.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why do you not control the offenders rather than the innocent? That is what you are suggesting doing.

Mr. PELLEY. I would not——

Mr. DEMPSEY. You take any race, and because a very small percent may be offensive to you, you would control the entire race, as Hitler did?

Mr. PELLEY. I know. But when we get into it, we find that the control is higher up. In the last 7 years I found out that——

Mr. STARNES. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CASEY. Do you think that the Nazi Party in Germany is anti-Semitic?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. I would say they were.

Mr. CASEY. You have testified here a few moments ago, have you not, that you feel exactly as the Nazi Party in Germany feels toward the Jewish element? You can answer that yes or no.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I do. But may I qualify that?

Mr. CASEY. Not at this moment. Are you anti-Semitic?

Mr. PELLEY. I would call myself very much so, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. You said yesterday in answer to a question that I propounded to you, you said that you were not.

Mr. PELLEY. I said that I have no animus against the individual Jew. I have very great animus against the tactics of Jewry as a whole. That would make me anti-Semitic.

Mr. CASEY. You do now say freely that you are anti-Semitic?

Mr. PELLEY. I do say freely that I am anti-Semitic.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Pelley, I hand you herewith a booklet purporting to be published by the Pelley Publishers, Box 2630, Asheville,

N. C., entitled "The Hidden Empire." Examine that booklet and identify it for us.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. I identify that booklet.

Mr. STARNES. You wrote the booklet?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I didn't write the booklet.

Mr. STARNES. Was it published under your direction?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. It is only one of the compilations which has grown over a period of time among the writers. That is all that that is.

Mr. STARNES. By the Pelley writers?

Mr. PELLEY. No. Not necessarily.

Mr. STARNES. What I want to find out is——

Mr. PELLEY. The original authorship?

Mr. STARNES. I want to get the editor of that book. Who was the editor of that book?

Mr. PELLEY. This particular book, Mr. Chairman, had a very peculiar genesis.

Mr. STARNES. Can you answer my question?

Mr. PELLEY. Can I tell you this briefly?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. But first can't you tell me who the editor of that book is?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I don't know who it is.

Mr. STARNES. It was put out by your concern?

Mr. PELLEY. It was put out by my concern. It originally—the material in it—the editing of it seems to have been done in, I think it was, Lincoln, Nebr.

Mr. STARNES. In Lincoln, Nebr.?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. As a result of a very bitter interchurch controversy that maintained in Lincoln back in 1933—in 1934.

To that from time to time was added other data which upon investigation seemed to stack up as being true.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know any of the parties out in Nebraska who might have had some part in the compilation of the material in that book or in the censoring of it?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I think it was two Christian clergymen out there; two Protestant clergymen.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know who they are?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I cannot say right offhand, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. THOMAS. Was one of them Mr. Charles B. Hudson?

Mr. PELLEY. Not that I recall.

Mr. STARNES. Did your organization put that book out as one of its textbooks of material——

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That the members should read——

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And should inform themselves upon?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did your organization approve in whole or upon the principles that were set forth in this document?

Mr. PELLEY. Naturally. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. We will attach this document as an exhibit to the witness' testimony.

I will ask you about this particular quotation:

Suddenly, when we in the United States had recovered from the celebration of the Armistice, we discovered that approximately four million Jews had infiltrated into the United States during our war-years. No fighting in the front line trenches of any country for *them*.

"Them" is in italics.

Moreover, most of these four million Jews held political and economic ideas similar to those of the syphilitic Jew, Lenin, of Bolshevik Russia.

Now, do you mean to state that your organization was in possession of information, or that you are, that 4,000,000 Jews had infiltrated into the United States during 1917 and 1918?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I have here the actual figures compiled by Jewish organizations themselves, which show that they had entered 10 times what you have got there. I submit this as evidence.

Mr. VOORHIS. Forty million?

Mr. STARNES. Forty million Jews came in during those 2 years?

Mr. PELLEY. What did you say? I beg your pardon.

Mr. STARNES. You said that you had evidence compiled by leaders of the Jews in this country which shows that 10 times that number came in in those 2 years.

Mr. PELLEY. There are the actual figures, Mr. Chairman. Jews in the United States in 1927, 4,228,029. Jewish population in the United States in 1937, 10 years later, 12,046,648. Eight million increase.

Mr. STARNES. But your statement that I was trying to get some light upon, Mr. Pelley, was that you understood that 4,000,000 Jews had infiltrated into the United States during our war years, that is, during 1917 and 1918.

Mr. PELLEY. That was of record by Jewish testimony itself. I am sorry. I would like to put my hands on it, but I haven't it here.

Mr. STARNES. As I understand it, you have quoted here an authority to the effect that there were only 4,000,000 Jews in the entire country in 1927.

Mr. PELLEY. 4,228,029.

Mr. STARNES. Now, may I—

Mr. PELLEY. Those are the exact figures. Those others are merely approximate figures.

Mr. STARNES. Is the committee to understand that you and the members of your organization have information to the effect that most of the 4,000,000 Jews which you are alleging came in here during the war years have political, that they hold political and economic ideas similar to those of Lenin, in other words, communism?

Mr. PELLEY. Unfortunately, that has been my experience in contact with them, Mr. Chairman. And their Mr. Justice Brandeis issued a statement almost to that effect.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Pelley, what percent of the 4,000,000 did you contact or have any contact with?

Mr. PELLEY. Naturally, Mr. Dempsey, that question answers itself. A man cannot contact them all. But when you travel from one end of the Nation to the other—

Mr. DEMPSEY. I haven't any idea. I am asking you.

Mr. PELLEY. I am giving you my data—

Mr. DEMPSEY. You based your opinion upon the contact that you had with the Jewish people. Now, how many people of the Jewish faith did you have contact with of the 4,000,000?

Mr. PELLEY. I have had contact with them for the last 6 years, and I lived in New York City 10 years before that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That doesn't answer my question.

Mr. PELLEY. I know it. I cannot answer it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I, too, lived in New York City.

What percent of the Jewish people did you come in contact with, do you think, of this 4,000,000?

Mr. PELLEY. Wouldn't we say, one out of every three persons that we met during the day?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you talk to one out of every three persons that you met with during the day?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you mean to say that you would pass a person, if he was a Jewish person, and that that is what gave you that impression?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. How was it that you obtained your impression?

Mr. PELLEY. It is a very difficult question to answer under the circumstances.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I can imagine so.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. On Page 28 of this document, entitled "The Hidden Empire," there is a question that I want to ask concerning a certain statement there. But before I do it I want to ask this question:

You stated yesterday that you had no predilection, that is, your organization—and when I say "you" I am not talking about you personally; I am talking about you as the leader of this organization—you said that you had no predilection against the members of the Catholic faith.

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You wage no war against the Catholic church?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In any form. And you have not confined your membership to what you called members of the Protestant faith?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. By no means. In fact—

Mr. STARNES. I notice here this statement: I quote: "The entire Jesuit Order"—That is a Catholic group, as I understand it?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES (continuing):

responsible for so much Catholic mischief throughout the world, was founded by a Jew, Ignatius Loyola.

Mr. PELLEY. May I answer it?

Mr. STARNES. Yes. Is that true or not true?

Mr. PELLEY. That is a statement that was in the original manuscript. You will not find that in the later issues of this same book. It has been deleted as being untrue. When I discovered it in there, I took it out of the book quick, because I don't believe it. I didn't write it, and I don't believe it.

Mr. VOORHIS. What were the later issues, Mr. Pelley? This is 1938.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, that book has had at least 20 reprints. Mr. VOORHIS. That is later than 1938, because in the 1938 issue that statement still stands.

Mr. PELLEY. Where is the date on it?

Mr. VOORHIS. The date is in the front.

Mr. PELLEY. What page is that on?

Mr. VOORHIS. There is a letter in the front that is dated December 1938. So I assume that it must have been after that. That statement is on page 28, and still stands.

Mr. PELLEY. The one that I have here says:

What part the Jews played in the world-wide success of the Society of Jesus or the Jesuits probably can never be determined.

Is that in your booklet?

Mr. VOORHIS. No. But this is the same as the Chairman's. It has the date 1938 in it, and it still has that same statement.

Mr. PELLEY. When I discovered that in there, and it was called to my attention by a Catholic friend of mine, I made a special study of the life of Ignatius Loyola.

Mr. VOORHIS. When did you do that, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. I think it was about 2 years ago, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. But this book here dates itself after 1938, it seems to me.

Mr. PELLEY. It was about 2 years ago I did it, nevertheless.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you found that you were in error?

Mr. PELLEY. I was in error. I didn't write that. But it was in a book that I was publishing, and I deleted it from the book.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you ever publicly, prior to your statement of a moment ago, repudiate that admitted error?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know that occasion has ever arisen for public repudiation. I think you can find it in some of my correspondence.

Mr. VOORHIS. It was an attack on the founder of a great order, a Catholic priest.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct. Quite unintentionally, because, as I say, I do not approve of it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Don't you think that that would have called for some public statement, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. It might. Yes. The fact that it just didn't happen is unfortunate.

Mr. STARNES. Now, in this same book, in discussing the Kahal in Germany, I find the following statement on page 42. I quote:

Is it any wonder that with such a state of affairs obtaining, Hitler should have been espoused by the pureblooded German people as a leader who would rid them of this Kahal Frankenstein, whose American arm has already become quite as offensive to enlightened persons here in the United States?

Do you mean by that, Mr. Pelley, that your organization approves of the method that Hitler used in Germany in dealing with this Kahal?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I mean—you are asking me about——

Mr. STARNES. What do you call this organization?

Mr. PELLEY. We call it the Cahilla—C-a-h-i-l-l-a. It is a Spanish word meaning a council or convention.

Mr. STARNES. You say that you don't.

Now, then, here is your further statement following that:

Hitler preached a doctrine of "Germany for the Germans" and we should preach a doctrine of "America for Americans." Hitler used a steel wedge "to split a hardwood block" and at once when he had gained to power and started breaking up this Kahal monopoly, it set its publicity machinery at work all over the world to defame and misrepresent him, suggest boycotts, and introduce resolutions in houses of government which if acted upon would lead to war.

Now, do you in your organization quote with approval those sentiments expressed in that statement? That is on page 42, beginning with the second paragraph.

Mr. PELLEY. I understand by that statement—Yes, sir. I subscribe to it.

Mr. STARNES. Then you further state along in the same paragraph, toward the end of it:

Hitler had thrown a big monkeywrench into the Kahal's machinery in its steady progress for international domination.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, will you find out what the Kahal is?

Mr. STARNES. What is the Kahal? Is that an international council?

Mr. PELLEY. An international Jewish organization; yes, sir, of which there is very much literature in existence; and I refer you to the history written by Mrs. Nestor Webster. That has a full account of it. She gives it in several of her books.

Mr. STARNES. On page 43, in the first full paragraph, further discussing the work of this Kahal in Germany and how Hitler dealt with it, I quote:

Hitler saw the sword of Damocles hanging over Germany and in saving Germany from this insidious foe it meant that he acted as any courageous leader would act to defend his country, which, in brief, was to protect it from the false Jew. America ought to be grateful for the barrier that is thus being created in its behalf, rather than join with those who are on record as having ulterior designs against this country which was once the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Your organization quoted that with approval.

Mr. PELLEY. May I answer that question with qualifications?

Mr. STARNES. Answer it first and then you may qualify it.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I understand.

Mr. STARNES. You quote it.

Mr. PELLEY. I subscribed to it qualified by a request of this committee that, if you will put it into the record, I would like to put in the statement the information or data on which I based that opinion.

Mr. STARNES. You may attach that as an exhibit.

Mr. PELLEY. I may?

Mr. STARNES. Because this is only an exhibit, you see. That is all that the document is. In quoting your testimony we can incorporate that as an exhibit.

Mr. PELLEY. In other words, would that appear in the record?

Mr. STARNES. That would depend.

Mr. PELLEY. Would it become a part of the record?

Mr. STARNES. It would depend entirely on how voluminous it was.

Mr. PELLEY. For instance, if I do, Mr. Chairman—

Mr. STARNES. To make a long story short, you may bring your data to the committee and submit it; and then, after discussing it with you, if the committee feels that it should be incorporated in this record, we will do so.

Mr. PELLEY. You mean in executive session?

Mr. STARNES. No. You may bring it to an open session. It is quite all right for you to do that. We prefer that. Then we can determine whether or not it is too lengthy to incorporate it or whether it is proper to do so.

I think there is one other question that I wanted to ask you concerning this publication.

I hand you herewith, Mr. Pelley, for your examination, a small circular or booklet with your picture——

Mr. PELLEY. All right. I identify it without handing it down.

Mr. STARNES. Can you identify it?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is an authentic booklet?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. One that was published by you?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And sent out by your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. It is entitled "What You Should Know About the Pelley Publications."

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Voorhis of California has a question that he would like to ask you now.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, on the very last page, as part of your conclusions, I read you this:

No one should be so asinine as to think that the Jewish-Bolshevik gang are going to relinquish their gains-to-date without a struggle. No one should be so childish as to think that an ordinary Party-switching election will right the Ship of State, nor get the idea that a crisis can be avoided, a collapse stayed off.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS [reading]:

There is no need to despair at the suggestion that a revolutionary condition cannot be prevented.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Get this:

even if it could be circumvented our people and our Nation would fall right back into the same old indolent ways of thinking and living, tolerating the same subversive elements.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. A little further down it says:

But to effect the necessary purge, the disruption must come, the crisis must be met——

And so on.

Now, Mr. Pelley, is there any other group of people in the country to your knowledge who take the position that a trial of force somewhere along the line is going to be necessary, besides this statement of yours?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, Mr. Voorhis, I am not subscribing to that. That is not my statement. It is a statement published by my publishing house.

Mr. VOORHIS. But this booklet is by one of your very members of the organization that you sponsor and are entirely familiar with?

Mr. PELLEY. All right. We won't quibble with it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I didn't mean to say anything further. I presume in view of that fact that you stand on this book?

Mr. PELLEY. I subscribe to the general sentiment; and I am very fearful that up to the time that Mr. Dies and his committee began to investigate the subversive activities, that that same disruption then that I referred to was on the make.

Mr. VOORHIS. I wanted you to answer the question as I asked it.

Mr. PELLEY. Pardon me. What was the question?

Mr. VOORHIS. Whether there is any other group to your knowledge in the Nation which takes an exactly parallel idea with that, namely, that at some place along the line of development there must be a trial of force, that is, a revolutionary condition taking place.

Mr. PELLEY. Any other group that has been sponsoring that? You mean besides the Silver Legion?

Mr. VOORHIS. The same thing in different words.

Mr. PELLEY. Besides the Silver Legion?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. I imagine, 60 or 70 percent of the so-called vigilante organizations in the United States take that same view.

Mr. VOORHIS. So does the Communist Party, doesn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. I would indict the Communist Party as being provocative of the very thing that we are trying to—

Mr. VOORHIS. The Communist Party says in different words practically the same thing that you say there, don't they? Their position is that the time is going to come when force will have to be used?

Mr. PELLEY. But they are taking the angle, Mr. Voorhis, that force will have to be used to accomplish their objective.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then you are taking the view that force will have to be used to accomplish your objective?

Mr. PELLEY. If they employ force, force would have to be met with force.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes. Force would have to be met with force.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is O. K. We will put it on that basis. Both groups at both extremes say that same thing.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Isn't it also true that you would have great difficulty securing members for your organization unless you could point out another group that was a danger to the country in your opinion?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't think that that word "difficulty" should figure in there. No. I wouldn't say "difficulty."

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think that you could get just as many supporters if you didn't tell them that there was a great danger of a revolutionary condition and a collapse?

Mr. PELLEY. My dear Mr. Voorhis, dozens of people wrote in to me and said, "Thank God I have found someone who agrees with my views, and I want to join." I have no active proselyters out trying to pull people into the Silver Legion. I haven't had for 2 years.

Mr. VOORHIS. My only question was if you could get as many members if it were not for the fact that you painted this picture that is painted on the last page of this book.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, I really believe in a condition maturing—

Mr. VOORHIS. I am not questioning that, Mr. Pelley. But it is true, is it not, that this picture of a revolutionary condition about to come is a picture that you are setting up?

Mr. PELLEY. But look how our situation has changed in the last year and a half.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it has myself.

Mr. PELLEY. Certainly. In fact—

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, I want to ask you one more question, and then I am through.

Isn't it true, Mr. Pelley, that it is altogether possible that with groups on the two extremes of society, both saying that the time will come when force must be used and that we must prepare for that time, that you are gradually going to run a very distinct risk of whittling away the allegiance to the constitutional government of the Nation and increase the likelihood of the very thing that you say you are trying to prevent?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, I subscribe to that so completely and with the work which has been done by the Dies committee—and I have expressed it outside in publications—that if its work continues and goes on the Silver Shirt Legion stops. We have no more use for it.

Mr. VOORHIS. But, you see, much of the work of the Dies committee is directed against all organizations of that character, including yourself.

Mr. PELLEY. That is perfectly permissible, and I am glad for you to do it.

Mr. THOMAS. Do I understand you to say that if the Dies committee continues with its investigations the Silver Legion will immediately fold up?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say yes, with my blessing. If the Dies committee will go ahead—

Mr. THOMAS. That answers the question.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Chairman, may I say something?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MASON. In view of the fact that the League for Peace and Democracy, which was an organization of the Communist Party, has folded up, and you now announce that the Silver Shirt Legion may fold up if the Dies committee continues, perhaps with the help of such compacts as there exists between Hitler and Stalin and Stalin's attack upon Finland, and the work of the Dies committee and all the rest of it, all of these might have a tendency to fold up. Is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. Fine: yes.

Mr. MASON. And that is because of the philosophy that our Mr. Voorhis has expressed, that when you have two groups one opposing the other, one feeding upon hatred of the other, that keeps whittling away at the group in the middle, which is the constitutional group?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. But, Mr. Mason, may I ask a question?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Yes. I want your expression on that.

Mr. PELLEY. Fine.

I repeat, when this whole thing was started I couldn't even get Members of the Congress to take the attitude that they have taken here since 1938. You have my hopes. You are doing a good job.

And while it leaves itself open to misinterpretation, and I do it in the face of some sort of, we will say, moral intimidation from the Dies committee, and I am perfectly willing to be indicted on the score of that interpretation, I am honest nevertheless in saying that if the Dies committee goes ahead and licks the subversive elements in this Nation, my work is done.

Mr. MASON. On both sides, the right and the left?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right. Absolutely. And I will bless the Dies committee the day that they do it. And the mistaken impression is gone then about my own desires and ambitions in this.

Mr. STARNES. The Chair wants to say that we don't care anything about praise nor condemnation. We don't seek it from the right or from the left, from witnesses or nonwitnesses. We are trying to discover the facts about un-American activities in this country.

As has been so ably stated by some of the other members of the committee, if the Silver Shirt Legion folds up and goes out of existence, it won't be the first by any means that has folded up and gone out of existence since this investigation was begun.

We want to make it very clear as a matter of record that we seek neither praise nor condemnation insofar as this witness is concerned. We have listened to condemnation from the right and from the left, and it has gone into the record. I cannot see that it has contributed anything to the investigation.

I must remind all of you that I hope you will make your answers responsive to the questions, because personally I am one individual on this committee that does not care what anybody thinks about the committee. All I am after is trying to find out the truth about un-American and subversive activities.

I will concede that every American citizen may think as he pleases. But I don't care to have the record cluttered up with praise nor condemnation, because the witness, like some members of the committee, has expressed both praise and condemnation of the committee itself.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. The witness has bitterly condemned this committee. The witness has sued this committee.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. The witness has bitterly excoriated, as he has a perfect right to do as an American citizen, this committee. The members of this committee itself have bitterly criticized some of its procedure and its rulings, and have voted against its continuance, and then have worked along with it.

Therefore the Chair is going to say here and now that I don't care for any more expressions from the witness or from members of this committee concerning whether it is good or bad. All he wants is the truth.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You are not going to get the truth, because he has sued the committee for \$500,000.

Mr. STARNES. It was a million dollars. But let us proceed with the business. Have you finished with The Hidden Empire, Mr. Voorhis?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, I should like to ask the witness some questions here concerning a statement set forth in What You Should Know About the Pelley Publications.

On what we have numbered page 5 for convenience, I find this statement:

The purpose of the Silver Legion was to enlighten and train leaders who should be competent to act in a time of crisis—

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES (continuing):

binding them together in a unified whole—so that there might be cooperation and cohesion among them throughout the forty-eight States.

Was that a military form of action?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. Or a political form of action?

Mr. PELLEY. In the last 2 years, Mr. Chairman, the whole trend of the Silver Legion has been toward political enlightenment.

Mr. STARNES. Political action?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I quote further from this document:

To recruit millions of men would take too much time, but if a handful of influential people were recruited in each place, and those people stepped forth and assumed charge of aroused citizens when red-strike situations such as at Warren, Ohio, were precipitating the destruction of citizen life and property, the effect would be the same as though those aroused citizens were tacit members of the Legion itself.

Mr. PELLEY. I subscribe to that. I don't see anything un-American in it.

Mr. STARNES. Isn't that a form of vigilante action that you mentioned—

Mr. PELLEY. I don't see anything un-American in any form of vigilante action.

Mr. STARNES. You are not responsive, and I haven't completed my question. In Official Dispatch No. 1 you spoke of setting up an active, dynamic, vigilante organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, is this in pursuance of that same type of philosophy?

Mr. PELLEY. It is not, and I told you we abandoned that first type of activity in 1934, and have not resumed it.

Mr. STARNES. A moment ago you said that in sending forth that first manifesto, this Official Dispatch No. 1, that you thought that that should be based on a democratic procedure of 51 percent or more of the citizens of the country.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And this specific statement is that to recruit millions of men will take too much time.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Are you advocating in here that a minority should step forth and take charge?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I am not. At least, that is not the intent of that statement.

Mr. STARNES. That is not the intent of that statement?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. The intent of the statement is that if we ever come to an economic or political crisis, or crack-up, as we very fre-

quently use the term, which is better—to have a group that knows something about what it is to do to attempt to restore law and order, or to have a wild bunch running riot?

Mr. STARNES. I quote further just one sentence after these two quotations which I have read:

Such was Pelley's plan and the Silver Legion started.

Now, was it the policy of your organization and yourself to step in as a vigilante organization whenever there was a strike?

Mr. PELLEY. Indeed, no.

Mr. STARNES. Was your organization opposed to the right to strike and the right to organize on the part of labor?

Mr. PELLEY. Absolutely not.

Mr. STARNES. That is not the construction that should be placed on that?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. That was not the intent of the writer of it when he wrote it or printed or circulated it.

Mr. STARNES. Now, speaking about yourself—and this publication here refers to you specifically—on page 7, in the paragraph entitled "Hewing to the Line," I quote:

He knows that a vast economic crisis is ahead, as the aftermath of NRA havoc visits its rigors on the Nation. *But he rests confident that he knows how to instruct his men what to do at its arrival, precisely as he has called the shots unerringly on the Overseas gang to the moment.*

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, what do you mean by this expression, that you know how to instruct your men what to do upon the arrival of this crisis?

Mr. PELLEY. They have utterly familiarized themselves with the tactics of the subversive forces for 7 years, or for the length of time that they have been in the organization, and don't join in with them.

Remember that that force is predicated on the stipulation of a crisis. That was the essence of the document when it was written and published.

Mr. STARNES. But you claim in this same statement that the economic crisis was the aftermath of N. R. A. havoc?

Mr. PELLEY. By Jove, I believe it was.

Mr. STARNES. And that you are confident that you know how to instruct the men what to do when this crisis arises.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Was it your intention and your idea that your organization at that moment should step in——

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. And take any sort of drastic action——

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. Which would force people out, as was stated in an earlier publication of yours here, out of office and put people of your own persuasion in?

Mr. PELLEY. No; because we could not. Mr. Chairman, if there had been a complete overthrow, on which that is predicated, there would be no people in office; so they could not be forced out.

Mr. STARNES. This booklet here, *What You Should Know About the Pelley Publications*, is a current publication?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. It is not current?

Mr. PELLEY. No. It is just a little leaflet that was given out in explanation of the publications.

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date? That has been published just recently, hasn't it?

Mr. STARNES. I am trying to find it.

Mr. PELLEY. That was published about a year ago.

Mr. STARNES. Have you any questions, Mr. Voorhis, on that?

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to address myself to the 51 per cent for just a moment, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, I have here one of these little green books that you sent out for the purpose of instructing the members. Isn't that what they are for?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to read just a little bit from page 11. It says:

Too many prospective Silver Shirts gain the idea that nothing can be done in this Nation, toward yanking it out of its doldrums, putting down the New Dealers, and paving the way for the Christian commonwealth, until at least 51 per cent of our people have been sold on defensive tactics and have pledged their allegiance to men like Pelley, Zacharay, and others—leading the same sort of fight in America.

Men like Pelley, Zachary, and others, know in utter candor that the time never is going to arrive when they can sell 51 per cent of this Nation on the Silver Shirts.

In the first place the enemy ensconced in the Federal Government—precisely as it first ensconced itself in the Federal Government of Spain—is not going to allow men like Pelley, Zacharay, and others, to gain the ear of public attention, if it can help it. Furthermore, there isn't time, or general intelligence enough, in the rank and file, for 51 per cent of our people to grasp the necessity for direct action, sanely taken, that they fall in voluntarily behind a leader, and help themselves.

Prospective Silver Shirts, right off the bat, must get such notions out of their heads. The great mass of the people can be enlightened with tons of exposé literature—true. It can be made as erudite and sympathetically minded as possible, so as to minimize opposition when the time comes for action.

But Hitler had it right when he said in "My Battle"—"Mein Kampf"—"Humanity is made up of three great classes. First, there are good men at the top, which the masses will follow. Second, there are bad men at the bottom, which the masses will not resist. Third, in between is the great sheep flock of humanity, pitifully wanting peace, that will do anything but fight."

But here is the great salvation of the proposition, which every true leader knows: "If this great majority won't fight the projectors of subversion and turmoil—at least with anything but talk—neither will it effectively oppose any force that may come along with the intent of putting down subversion and turmoil."

I just wondered in connection with your answer to the chairman on the question of whether you were ready to abide by the decision of 51 per cent of the people, arrived at in a constitutional manner, what you have to say about that passage. It seems to me that it contradicts what you said before.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, if I may just for a moment go back and answer your question as to intent and motive:

I have tried to expound that there is a great situation economically ahead of us. We have tried to prepare for it and enlighten people as to its fundamentals, hoping thereby to make them efficient in a time of crisis, to do something.

Mr. VOORHIS. Don't you believe that the economic problem can be solved within the framework of our Constitution?

Mr. PELLEY. I think that as long as the committee keeps after the subversive elements that are making it bad, I do; and I hope and pray that it is going to.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever try to achieve your aims by obtaining 51 percent of the people's approval?

Mr. PELLEY. My dear Mr. Casey, I tried so hard to do it. I even went out to the Pacific coast in 1936——

Mr. CASEY. I think you have answered. You tried to do it?

Mr. PELLEY. Very sincerely.

Mr. CASEY. That was the aim of the Silver Shirts at one time, at least?

Mr. PELLEY. That has been the aim of the Silver Shirts all the way through, and it still is.

Mr. CASEY. And you are the acknowledged leader of the Silver Shirts?

Mr. PELLEY. I am.

Mr. CASEY. And if the Silver Shirts had achieved their aim, would you have been the man in charge of the Government?

Mr. PELLEY. Probably, if our constitutional government——

Mr. CASEY. I think you have answered the question.

Mr. PELLEY. It is only fair to let me qualify that, Mr. Casey.

If our constitutional government had gone down, as it has gone down in similar constitutional governments, as they have gone down in other countries, it has been in my estimation a matter of one man, with those around him who understand the situation, who have been the resuscitation of those countries.

Mr. CASEY. And if you had become the leader of the country, would you have put into effect Hitler's policies so far as they are referable to the anti-Jewish policy?

Mr. PELLEY. I probably would, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you said in your testimony yesterday that you started your organization with a group of individuals in 1933?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And that you inaugurated it in the early part of 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And that you were investigated by the so-called McCormack committee in the early part of 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. In May.

Mr. STARNES. In May?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. At that time they seized all of your records. I believe that your testimony was that they got everything except one typewriter?

Mr. PELLEY. Very much so.

May I qualify that? The action that was taken at that time was taken in conjunction with the receivership and bankruptcy of the Galahad Press.

Mr. STARNES. I see.

Mr. PELLEY. Afterwards, Mr. Chairman, we had to bring suit in the Federal court to have the receiver in bankruptcy relinquish the

records and the finances and books of the Silver Legion, which they had no right to touch; and the judge so ruled.

Mr. STARNES. And you made the statement or charge that certain of the documents later turned up in certain publications in this country?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. At that time, in 1934, I believe you stated that you had 12 States in which you had organizations at that time?

Mr. PELLEY. In which I had posts or units.

Mr. STARNES. Posts or units?

Mr. PELLEY. Don't call them organizations. Call them units.

Mr. STARNES. In 1939 you had 22 States?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. In 1935 how many did you have? Do you know?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I cannot tell you. In 1935? Wait a minute. In 1935 we were out, inactive. We didn't do anything.

Mr. STARNES. You came back in 1936?

Mr. PELLEY. In 1936. The early part of 1937.

Mr. STARNES. Since that time you have been expanding? You said you had spontaneous groups in 22 States.

Now, this Liberation is an official publication of your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I have a copy here under date of February 24, 1934. On page 1, I quote:

Christians of America, the tragedy which Hitler avoided must be forestalled in these United States.

That is in volume 6, No. 1.

And on page 3 appears the statement:

American Jewry openly acknowledges its admiration for Communism, that Communism is Jewish.

Then in an article entitled "Will There Be a Slaughter of Gentiles in America?" on page 4 comes this quotation:

Let us turn from Russia and see what *might have happened in Germany*, if it had not been for Hitler.

And then this other quotation, and this is in italics:

*With the undeniable connections between Marxism, Communism and World-Jewry, it became tragically apparent that the life of Germany depended upon a tussle with Jewry to actually settle which race was the strongest in German life.*

This was the message which Hitler brought to the Teutons.

That is documentary corroboration of your own statement made to the committee in the course of your testimony during the past 2 days, which indicated that you did admire Hitler very much for his manner of handling the Jewish situation, and you approved of his manner of handling the question of the Jewish people in Germany: is that correct?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. Do you admire Hitler for his compact with Stalin, which was entered into in 1939?

Mr. PELLEY. I decidedly do not.

Mr. STARNES. So you changed your mind about Hitler as you have about the —

Mr. PELLEY. About the Dies committee.

Mr. STARNES. About other organizations?

Mr. PELLEY. The Dies committee.

Mr. STARNES. About this committee?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. On March 17, 1934, in another copy of *Liberation*, there appears an article entitled "Silver Shirts, Don't Be Fooled by Startling Propaganda." I find there this statement, I quote:

The fact that the Jew is in the seat of power makes but one issue in these United States, and that is the forcible removal of the Jew from office, or from controlling public office. It is just as simple as that and some day it will be just as simply realized. The Silver Legion takes such a stand because it has sufficient evidence at hand to impeach and convict the great mass of them.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Now, you advocated officially in your official publication the forcible removal of Jews from public office in the United States?

Mr. PELLEY. I wouldn't want to endorse that statement to the extent that I believe in violence in doing it. Force and violence are two different things. You can be very forceful about a thing, even in your speech, but you are not employing violence.

Mr. STARNES. You are making that as a qualifying statement, then, to this article?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. MASON. In this connection, your difference between the words "force" and "violence," isn't it true, Mr. Pelley, that all through your writings you have carefully selected words that to the great mass of people mean one thing, but which you in your reservation in your mind think of as meaning another thing?

Now, to the great mass of people, to use force means physical force. To you, who have a clear distinction of the difference in words, it does not mean physical violence at all. It means something else.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. MASON. Do you get my point?

Mr. PELLEY. I get your point.

Mr. MASON. And I think that after reading some of your literature, that that runs all the way through—a careful selection of words that mean one thing to the mass and mean another thing to the writer.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, Mr. Mason, not with mischievous intent. Now, that is a matter—

Mr. MASON. I understand. But that would be a fair, however, analysis of a person who knows something about the meaning of words to make?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. I would say that that would be a very fair analysis from your standpoint; but not with mischievous intent.

Mr. STARNES. However, you do or did advocate such force as was necessary to remove them?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I want to repudiate any writing that was intended to remove any person from any Government position, regardless of race, by violence.

Mr. STARNES. But you do admit that that would be a fair interpretation of that article by the mass of people of this country—that when you say that they should be driven from office or removed from

office by force, that it would be a fair interpretation, as Mr. Mason has just said?

Mr. PELLEY. Might I just see that article, Mr. Chairman? Would you let me see the nature of the publication?

(Mr. Starnes handed a document to the witness.)

Mr. PELLEY. That is such an isolated instance, a thing like that.

Mr. STARNES. That is March 17, 1934.

There are some other questions that I wanted to ask you, and then we will come back to that.

I have here Pelley's the Silver Shirt Weekly. Is that an official publication of yours also?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. That was published during the time that litigation was on down there, when the Silver Legion was entirely—

Mr. STARNES. This was sent out to the members of the Silver Shirts and was regarded as their official publication; is that correct?

Mr. PELLEY. It might be interpreted that way.

Mr. STARNES. At that time Mr. Robert C. Summerville was a member of your staff at the national headquarters?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I believe you said a moment ago that he didn't sever his connection with the Silver Legion until 1936.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I find here on page 4, in an article entitled, "Are You Mentally Prepared for the Events of 1935?" the following. I quote:

The Jews have the money but the Gentiles have the numbers. No matter what measures toward repression may be taken—in the sacred name of preserving existing institutions—it will be a very fine thing in that hour not to be a Jew.

Don't you think that a fair interpretation by the average citizen reading that would be that there was a threat of force to be applied against the people of the Jewish race in this country from some source?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You admit that that is a fair interpretation?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. I wish the witness would not bow his head. The stenographer cannot get it.

Mr. STARNES. The answer is "Yes."

Mr. PELLEY. I beg your pardon.

Mr. STARNES. I note that you are carried on the editorial page here as being the editor in chief of the Pelley Weekly.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I would like you to identify this document, if you can do so. It is entitled "How Much Do You Know About the Secret Government of Our Nation?" It is bulletin No. 3, national headquarters, box 2630, Asheville, N. C. See if you can identify that.

Mr. PELLEY. This particular document—I remember it—was published in the latter part of 1933 or early 1934, while I was on the Pacific coast, from a manuscript which was brought down to headquarters by Mr. Collie.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Collie was at that time treasurer or secretary?

Mr. PELLEY. No. He was later in February one of the incorporators, that is, in my office.

Mr. STARNES. Box 2630 at Asheville was the national headquarters?

Mr. PELLEY. That is true. It was put out under my auspices in my absence. I did not have the editing of it. So I cannot qualify as approving its sentiments. I don't think it was given out without my counsel.

Mr. STARNES. Do you approve of this statement here, that this is one of the ideals of the organization at that time:

But if you are 18 years of age, of reasonably sound health, and not afraid to risk your life and limb for your country, you are asked to take the oath of consecration upon you, and step out as a TRUE CHRISTIAN SOLDIER, garbed in a shirt of Silver?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't see anything un-American in that sort of thing.

Mr. STARNES. What was contemplated? What was the necessity that was felt would arise to cause American citizens of that type to risk their lives for their country?

Mr. PELLEY. Because we still maintained as a fundamental of our organization that the subversive forces in this country were in such ascendancy that they were going to grab control.

Mr. STARNES. It was your thought that the American citizen of that kind might have to take up arms?

Mr. PELLEY. I think so.

Mr. STARNES. Against people in his own country?

Mr. PELLEY. Against what?

Mr. STARNES. Against these forces, people in his own country?

Mr. PELLEY. Absolutely. I don't mean against the people themselves.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. I am talking here about, not against, the Government of the people themselves. I am talking about some forces that have succeeded in doing the same things in countries overseas.

Mr. STARNES. I have here this official dispatch of the Silver Shirts of America, Asheville, N. C. It is entitled "Silver Shirts of America are Mobilizing to Protect Your Life. How Much are You Willing to Do for Them?" That is an official dispatch?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. I quote from page 3 of this official dispatch:

The only man in Europe who correctly understands the tie-up between Communism and the predatory elements among the Hebrews, is Hitler. He is maligned in this country because Hebrews are determined the stark truth shall not be known, and use every agency of publicity to disparage and vilify him.

Was that a correct statement of your attitude at that time concerning Hitler?

Mr. PELLEY. It was, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Toward people of the Jewish race in this country?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir. Not in this country. In Germany.

Mr. STARNES. You say that he is maligned in this country?

Mr. PELLEY. Absolutely. Yes.

Mr. STARNES (continuing):

Because the Hebrews are determined that the stark truth shall not be known, and use every agency of publicity—

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, this official dispatch of yours was a defense of Hitler.

I quote further from this same official dispatch, on page 4:

On January 31, 1933—the day that Hitler came into power in Germany—Pelley came out from under cover with his Silver Shirt national organization.

Having planted depots of his facts throughout the entire United States, enlightened police and vigilante groups, secured the cooperation of outraged Christian citizens to carry on regardless of what happens to him personally, his organization of SILVER SHIRTS is now snow-balling exactly as Hitler's Nazis snow-balled in Germany when the German people were at last persuaded to the truth.

Is that an official expression on your part of the attitude, the aims, and the purposes of the Silver Legion, as contained in this official bulletin to its members?

Mr. PELLEY. It was.

Mr. STARNES. The committee stands adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon a recess was taken from 12:20 to 2 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

The committee reassembled, pursuant to the taking of recess, at 2 o'clock p. m.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

#### STATEMENT OF WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY—Resumed

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Pelley, for the sake of the record, I will ask you to identify a few of the publications or documents which I shall hand to you, so they may be used as exhibits to your testimony.

I hand you herewith a publication or document entitled, "The Key to Crisis."

Mr. PELLEY. Correct, that is all right.

Mr. STARNES. Can you identify that?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is that an official publication of the Pelley publishers?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. And of the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. And when I ask you these questions, Mr. Pelley, in order to save us both vocal effort, it will be understood as to each and every one of them, separately and severally, we are identifying them as if they are so identified by you as being published by the Pelley Publishers and being official publications or publications endorsed by the Silver Shirt Legion and used by it in its program and its campaign?

Mr. PELLEY. That is good—that is all right.

Mr. STARNES. And you identify The Key to Crisis as being published by the Pelley Publishers and as an official pamphlet of the Silver Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir; I do.

(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit 1.")

Mr. STARNES. I have another here called "Cripples' Money."

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You identify that?

Mr. PELLEY. I do.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 2.")**

Mr. STARNES. I have a third one which we find entitled "Our Secret Political Police."

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. Is that correct?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And you so identify it?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 3.")**

Mr. STARNES. The Hidden Empire. You have already identified that?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes and heretofore identified, was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 4.")**

Mr. STARNES. We have another, What Manner of Government is the Christ to Set Up.

Mr. PELLEY. Right. However, Mr. Starnes, that is one which was issued prior to 1934, as I explained this morning, on the previous program which we have since abandoned.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 5.")**

Mr. STARNES. Then There is a Jewish World Plot. Jews Say So.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 6.")**

Mr. STARNES. Then here is another one entitled "Indians Aren't Red."

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 7.")**

Mr. STARNES. Then another one which may prove very interesting: What Every Congressman Should Know.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 8.")**

Mr. STARNES. Then another: Dupes of Judah.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 9.")**

Mr. STARNES. And another one entitled, "Duress and Persuasion."

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 10.")**

Mr. STARNES. Then a larger one entitled, "No More Hunger by Pelley."

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 11.")**

Mr. STARNES. Then finally a pamphlet entitled, "The President Knows."

Mr. PELLEY. But not written by me.

Mr. STARNES. Not written by you?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. However, that is published by the Pelley Publishers?

Mr. PELLEY. As publishers, yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. And is disseminated by the organization?

Mr. PELLEY. It was. It has not been for the past year.

Mr. STARNES. It has been but not during the past year?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 12.")**

Mr. STARNES. Now, the committee will reserve the right, of course, to ask you questions concerning passages in any of these documents at a later date.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. We are merely introducing them now in order to save time when we do refer to them, but they are now officially identified and made a part of the record.

In connection with your publications, have you ever taken material from World Service?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did you do that with or without crediting the source?

Mr. PELLEY. That I can't answer, Mr. Chairman, unless you give me particular instances in which it is quoted.

Mr. STARNES. Did you use any other German Nazi literature in your publications other than from World Service?

Mr. PELLEY. Not that I recall at the present moment. I may have done so.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Pelley should try to refresh his memory a little bit more. He has answered a great many questions over the past few days by not being able to recall. Certainly he should be able to remember whether he did that or not.

Mr. STARNES. You mean as to whether he used other sources of material?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What is your best recollection about that, as to whether you used other German Nazi literature in your publications with or without crediting the sources other than World Service?

Mr. PELLEY. To be frank with you, Mr. Chairman, I don't know of any other Nazi publication that has come to my desk except World Service. May I answer Mr. Thomas' question?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; in just a moment. I want to ask you a question. World Service, of course, you can identify as a service of German origin?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I cannot, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. You do not?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I do not. I cannot do that. I don't know that it is.

Mr. STARNES. You know it is reputed to be?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; in the press.

Mr. STARNES. And it comes from Stuttgart, Germany?

Mr. PELLEY. E-f-o-r-t, isn't it?

Mr. VOORHIS. E-r-f-u-r-t.

Mr. STARNES. We shall not quarrel over the spelling, but it does come from Germany?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe so.

Mr. STARNES. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. I would just like to answer Mr. Thomas, if I may.

Mr. STARNES. What is your question? [Addressing Mr. Thomas.]

Mr. THOMAS. I haven't asked a question.

Mr. PELLEY. He said I had a very weak memory, and I would like to elucidate on that.

Mr. STARNES. No; he says he did not ask you any questions. Were you a candidate for President of the United States in 1936?

Mr. PELLEY. On the Christian Party ticket, Washington State; yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is out on the Pacific coast?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. Did you speak during that campaign in furtherance of your candidacy on the Pacific coast?

Mr. PELLEY. Seventeen times in 34 days.

Mr. STARNES. Was this a portion of your program or platform? I quote:

It has been estimated that ten million Jews have come into the United States since the World War, in utter contempt for the immigration quota laws.

By the power of vast sums of money taken from the American people by the depredations of the Jews during the depression, they have everywhere wormed their way into political control, financial domination and relief administration. Christian gentiles by the hundreds of thousands have had their properties foreclosed on them or sold for high taxes.

Twenty million American natives are jobless but how many Jews do you see jobless or impoverished.

Then you go on to say:

I propose to disfranchise the Jews by constitutional amendment to make it impossible for a Jew to own property in the United States excepting under the same licensing system successfully employed against Occidentals in Japan; to limit Jews in the professions, trades and sciences, by license according to their quota of representation in the population.

Mr. PELLEY. I absolutely endorse and stand by that 100 percent, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Did you speak in Los Angeles during the course of that campaign?

Mr. PELLEY. I did, sir.

Mr. STARNES. You did?

Mr. PELLEY. I did.

Mr. STARNES. I will ask you when you spoke in the German hall in Los Angeles on July 18, 1936, if you declared:

The time has come for an American Hitler and—

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I did not. I do not recall such words being spoken by myself.

Mr. STARNES. Or anything to that effect?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I have never spoken of any pogrom against the Jewish people. In fact I have worked for 7 years to control elements that were trying to agitate exactly that thing.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question at this point?

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Voorhis wishes to ask you a question.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, on that very point: Here is a book of yours, *What Fifty Famous Men Have to Say About the Jews*.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And the last one in there is by James W. Gerard, former Ambassador to Germany.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. VOORHIS. And he is quoted in this book—I don't know whether he said this but you probably looked it up I assume, and he is quoted here as saying:

As a friend of the Jewish race I want to state that if ever the American Nation gets the idea that the Jewish race and communism are synonymous, there is a possibility of a pogrom in the United States that will make those of the czars look like a small parade.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is published in one of your booklets. And in another of your booklets devoted in large part to criticism of the Dies Committee, you make this statement, which you make elsewhere as well:

Communism is Jewish, say these older and wiser persons.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, if both of those statements taken together are to be taken seriously by people, it looks to me as though the effect of your work would be in the direction of a pogrom.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, there is a very important point there. The statement of Ambassador Gerard was uttered in East Orange, N. J., on the date specified, and I received it from the Jewish press and copied it in my publication.

Now, you cannot credit that to me.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am not crediting it to you.

Mr. PELLEY. Then I fail to get the question.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is published in your booklet.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct, I requoted it.

Mr. VOORHIS. And you, yourself, have you made the point here today and elsewhere in your writings that communism and the Jewish race are practically synonymous?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir: in spite of the fact, in answer to Mr. Dempsey's question this morning—I believe you agreed—maybe you did not agree, but at any rate Mr. Dempsey made the point that only a small percentage of the Jewish people could be termed Communists by any stretch of the imagination. The point I am trying to make is that I think the effect of those publications—in other words, Mr. Voorhis, wouldn't you distinguish between the fact that I quoted Mr. Gerard in his remarks about a pogrom as an instance of something we must avoid? Isn't that plainly set forth in there?

Mr. VOORHIS. No; I don't think it is.

Mr. PELLEY. In other words—may I ask for information? Your assumption is, then, that in quoting Mr. Gerard I am endorsing a pogrom?

Mr. VOORHIS. No. In quoting Mr. Gerard to the effect that you did quote him, whether you quoted him correctly or not, I cannot say, but in quoting that and then in contending as you do contend that these two things are synonymous—communism and Jews are synonymous—the effect of your work would appear to me to be along the line of the chairman's questioning when he asked you about your speech where you spoke of the pogrom.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, is it proper at this moment to make this statement in answer to your question: How happens it if insinuations contained in your question are correct, in 7 years of activity there has been no instance of any violence or any act—overt act—against any individual Jew in the United States by any Silver Shirt, that has my sanction? Isn't that a sufficient answer to the integrity of what I am trying to do?

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, that would be the record up to date.

Mr. PELLEY. Right; thank you.

Mr. VOORHIS. What we were talking about was: What the program in the future is.

Mr. PELLEY. Now, Mr. Chairman, may I make one statement more? Mr. Gerard went on record in the Jewish press, which issues I can produce under notification, with this statement which Mr. Voorhis has quoted.

I copied that in my publications as an instance of what Mr. Gerard said might happen in this United States, and for 7 years I have endeavored to stop exactly that thing, because I believe that unrestricted and without the proper control it might happen.

Mr. VOORHIS. But I don't see how you say the Jewish people and communism are synonymous. That is the point.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, you have asked me to introduce a book called *Jews Say So* into the record. Does that mean the contents of it goes into the record?

Mr. STARNES. No; we asked you to identify these officially as publications, either edited and written by you or members of your staff or published by your company and disseminated by your organization, as being representative of the viewpoint of the Silver Shirt Legion on these particular questions.

Mr. MASON. They are merely exhibits.

Mr. STARNES. They are merely exhibits and are not incorporated in the record.

Mr. PELLEY. In other words, if there is an answer to the question propounded by Mr. Voorhis, I would have to read it out of the book, is that right?

Mr. STARNES. That is right.

Mr. PELLEY. In utmost integrity I reprinted in here something like 82 affirmations by Jews themselves that this program which I am criticized for, is true.

Mr. STARNES. That is attached as an exhibit and is available, of course, and as far as official records are concerned it is an official part of the record just like an exhibit in a court. It is not actually incorporated in the record, but you understand that it is a part of the committee's records.

Now, I failed to have you identify three other publications or, alleged publications of the Pelley Publishers, which are representative of the official viewpoint of yourself and your organization. One is *The Suppressed Speech of Maj. Gen. George V. H. Moseley*.

Mr. PELLEY. I identify that.

Mr. STARNES. "Before the Dies Committee on June 1, 1939."

Mr. PELLEY. I identify that.

Mr. STARNES. You identify that pamphlet?

Mr. PELLEY. I do.

(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 13.")

Mr. STARNES. The other is, Is this Nation Ruled by Invisible Government. Do you identify that?

Mr. PELLEY. I do, sir. It contains remarks of Hon. Jacob Thorkelson, a member of the present Congress.

Mr. STARNES. You identify that?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 14.")**

Mr. STARNES. Then the final one which we have is, Dies' Political Posse, Information for Gentile Patriots Served With Dies' Subpenas.

Mr. PELLEY. I identify that.

Mr. STARNES. And in which I see there is anything but complimentary remarks to the Dies committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you following those instructions now, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. I am sorry to say I am not, Mr. Voorhis.

**(The pamphlet referred to by Mr. Starnes was marked "Pelley Exhibit No. 15.")**

Mr. STARNES. I hand you herewith, merely for the purpose of identification and to ask you some questions concerning the publication of the Silver Legion Ranger, published in Los Angeles, Calif., dated Wednesday, February 21, 1934, and another issue dated Wednesday, April 18, 1934. Can you identify those?

Mr. PELLEY. I can, sir.

**(The papers referred to by Mr. Starnes were marked "Pelley Exhibits Nos. 16 and 17.")**

Mr. STARNES. They are official publications of the organization?

Mr. PELLEY. They are, sir.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, what was this Silver Legion Ranger?

Mr. PELLEY. A tabloid publication which was issued by what we call the western headquarters of the Silver Legion in Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. STARNES. Do you have any particular group or selected group of any type or character within the Silver Shirt Legion that you call the Silver Rangers?

Mr. PELLEY. We did, Mr. Chairman, at one time for a brief period of 8 months when we were operating on a propaganda or publicity basis out of Oklahoma State.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall what year that was?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. That was from about September of 1933 to about February or March of 1934.

Mr. STARNES. What was the particular purpose of that group?

Mr. PELLEY. Because we had such a representation on the western coast or the western part of the country that it was attempted—it was experimented by putting a subheadquarters in the western part of the country for the service of those people.

Mr. STARNES. You had a fast-growing membership in the western part of the country?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. STARNES. That was in California, Oregon, and Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. Right. In fact all of the Western States west of the Mississippi.

Mr. STARNES. The Door to Revelation, that is a book written by you?

Mr. PELLEY. It is, sir.

Mr. STARNES. On page 415 appears this excerpt:

I knew two things which these fellows did not: First it was within the Karma.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES (continuing):

Of the Silver Shirt movement to work out a maneuver somewhere in the west. Second, tucked away in my files were letters from influential Oklahomans informing me that if I would make the legion a power in Oklahoma politics, aid in private ways might in nowise be lacking.

Is that statement correct?

Mr. PELLEY. What is the last?

Mr. STARNES. I quote:

Second, tucked away in my files were letters from influential Oklahomans informing me that if I would make the Legion a power in Oklahoma politics, aid in private ways might in nowise be lacking.

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. You did have that assurance?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I am a little bit hard of hearing. That is why I am questioning you.

Mr. STARNES. That is quite all right. The acoustics in these buildings is very bad. That statement of yours was correct?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. That you had information or letters, rather, from influential Oklahoma citizens to the effect if you would make the Silver Legion movement a political power in Oklahoma that you could find all of the private aid that you were looking for.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Now, was it the purpose or a part of your political program in the State of Oklahoma, or did you contemplate action there, that would enable the Silver Shirt Legion to take over the Statehouse—the State government?

Mr. PELLEY. Emphatically not.

Mr. STARNES. A few other questions I would like to ask you. Do you know Henry D. Allen?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. How long have you known him, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. I met him in Los Angeles, Calif., I should say about April or May of 1934.

Mr. STARNES. Did he hold any official position in the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Did he ever work with your organization in any manner?

Mr. PELLEY. He did.

Mr. STARNES. Either in a sympathetic capacity or otherwise?

Mr. PELLEY. He did.

Mr. STARNES. He did?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Will you relate to the committee, please, in what capacity he worked?

Mr. PELLEY. He worked as an assistant to Mr. Kenneth D. Alexander, who was recognized at that time as the California liaison man to myself personally.

Mr. STARNES. What was the type of work that he did? Was he merely a liaison agent between you and Alexander?

Mr. PELLEY. No. He was, you might say, moral support for Mr. Alexander.

Mr. STARNES. Did he contribute any funds or did he actively participate in any campaign to raise funds from outside sources, to assist the Silver Legion in its program?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; he might have done so.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall, approximately, now, how much he raised? I can understand you are testifying merely from recollection.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. And you have the privilege of refreshing your recollection from official records. Do you recall approximately the amount of money that he might have raised and turned over to the organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, I don't recall that he ever raised a cent.

Mr. STARNES. Well, do you recall whether or not you received considerable financial support from outside sources in the State of California and along the west coast where he was active?

Mr. PELLEY. That means whether he had any participation in it or not?

Mr. STARNES. Correct.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I do.

Mr. STARNES. Can you give us an approximation of the amount or amounts?

Mr. PELLEY. That would entail—my answer would entail an estimate of what the Silver Legion support was in California for that year, for the year in which Mr. Allen was associated with us, is that correct?

Mr. STARNES. How much would that be?

Mr. PELLEY. I doubt, Mr. Chairman, if it would be over \$2,000.

Mr. STARNES. You do not think it would be over \$2,000?

Mr. PELLEY. Not over that.

Mr. STARNES. How much in Oregon for that year, do you recall?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I do not, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. STARNES. Or in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. STARNES. In which of those three States did you have the largest membership?

Mr. PELLEY. In 1934, in the State of California.

Mr. STARNES. At the present time which has the larger membership?

Mr. PELLEY. The State of Washington.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know George Detherage?

Mr. PELLEY. I do, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever received any aid or support from him in a financial way or what, in common parlance, and you will understand what I mean when I say "in common parlance," in a moral way or sympathetic support?

Mr. PELLEY. I have, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you and he cooperated on any program or concert of action, politically or otherwise, in this country?

Mr. PELLEY. I have not.

Mr. STARNES. Did he and the organization he represents or heads ever assist you or your organization in promoting any of the phases of the Silver Shirt program?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. Let me qualify that. Beyond purchasing literature from our headquarters on the same basis that anybody in the United States would do.

Mr. VOORHIS. M. I ask a question at this point. Mr. Pelley, have you sold considerable literature to the Ayrian Book Store in Los Angeles?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe we have, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that the official book store for the German-American Bund?

Mr. PELLEY. It may be, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. As a matter of fact haven't you sent quite a quantity of literature there?

Mr. PELLEY. I have, Mr. Voorhis, but on a strict sales basis because they ordered it and paid for it.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand.

Mr. STARNES. Did Mr. Deatherage and his group ever furnish you with any type of literature or propaganda for publications or bulletins that some groups call "enlightenment"?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Getting back to the State of Washington, where you say you have quite an active group at the present time. Do you know Frank W. Clark?

Mr. PELLEY. I do, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Is he connected or identified with your movement in that State?

Mr. PELLEY. He was until, I should say, about October 1, 1936.

Mr. STARNES. He is no longer identified with the movement in any way?

Mr. PELLEY. He is not, sir. May I qualify that, with the exception he has Silver Legion credentials which he has never surrendered.

Mr. STARNES. Then you are not prepared to state whether or not he still represents himself as being a leader in the movement and being active in the movement?

Mr. PELLEY. Decidedly to the contrary. Mr. Clark has disassociated himself with the movement and attempted a movement of his own, called the "Young Buffalos," whatever that may be.

Mr. STARNES. What is the name of it?

Mr. PELLEY. "Young Buffalos," whatever that may mean.

Mr. STARNES. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mr. J. H. Peyton?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Charles B. Hudson?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; you mean personally as an acquaintance?

Mr. STARNES. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Mrs. Leslie Fry?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; only by reputation in the newspapers.

Mr. VOORHIS. She is no relation to the Mrs. Leslie mentioned in your book?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know James True?

Mr. PELLEY. I do, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you had any connection with him in furthering the Silver Shirt Legion program?

Mr. PELLEY. Only to the extent that Mr. True has from time to time in his industrial control reports, very graciously publicized a new item of publication which I might bring out.

Mr. STARNES. In other words, in his report he has carried certain items contributed by you through your publication?

Mr. PELLEY. Not contributed, Mr. Chairman. He has publicized to his clientele new numbers which I might issue.

Mr. STARNES. Well, I misunderstand you. I thought you said you had contributed the articles.

Mr. PELLEY. No, I never did that.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Gerald B. Winrod?

Mr. PELLEY. Only by reputation in the papers.

Mr. STARNES. Has Mr. True or his organization or his concern or his associates ever contributed any money to the support of the Silver Shirt Legion and its program?

Mr. PELLEY. Only for such literature as they have bought on a commercial basis and paid for at the end of 30 days.

Mr. STARNES. Will you furnish the committee the amounts that they have purchased over the period of time that you have operated?

Mr. PELLEY. I shall be delighted to do so.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question?

Mr. STARNES. All right, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you sold considerable literature to Hugo Eger, of Chicago, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Hugo Eger is the Silver Shirt leader of Chicago and I have sold him a great amount of material.

Mr. VOORHIS. Has he any connection with any other organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. VOORHIS. You don't know of any connection he has with the German-American Bund?

Mr. PELLEY. No, no; and I don't think it is true he has any connection. In fact he has expressed from time to time a great hostility for the German-American Bund.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you sold literature to the Germania Book Store in Yorkville, N. Y.?

Mr. PELLEY. No; not in Yorkville; it was in New York City.

Mr. VOORHIS. In New York City?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Germania Book Store?

Mr. PELLEY. They have taken a large quantity of our material and paid us cash for it on a commercial basis. No other connection.

Mr. THOMAS. May I ask a question?

Mr. STARNES. Yes, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Pelley, have you met with Mr. True any time within the past year?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't think so, Mr. Thomas. I have met him prior to that but the past year I don't think so.

Mr. THOMAS. You have met with him we will say within the past year and a half?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that meeting in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. I went to spend—I went up one night for a social call and dropped in on Mr. True and spent the evening.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you known Mr. True for long?

Mr. PELLEY. I have known Mr. True for, I should say, a period of about 3 years.

Mr. THOMAS. And how many times do you think you have met with him in that period of 3 years?

Mr. PELLEY. A half a dozen.

Mr. THOMAS. A half a dozen times?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. All in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. And they have just been social calls?

Mr. PELLEY. That is all.

Mr. THOMAS. But you have discussed with him the possibility of his organization and your organization joining up and becoming one, haven't you?

Mr. PELLEY. No; because he had no organization.

Mr. THOMAS. But you have got his moral support?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. And he has gotten yours?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever sold any of your literature to Gerald B. Winrod or any organization he is associated with?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. Mr. Winrod is very hostile to the work I am doing.

Mr. STARNES. Do you know Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. PELLEY. I do.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever sold Fritz Kuhn and his organization any literature?

Mr. PELLEY. What do you mean?

Mr. STARNES. That you publish.

Mr. PELLEY. May I ask what you mean by "his organization"? Do you mean the German Bund as an official organization?

Mr. STARNES. What I mean is have you ever sold to him, either to him or to his organization, any of these publications that have been identified here for the record, or other publications that we have not yet been able to identify?

Mr. PELLEY. That is kind of a difficult question, Mr. Chairman. May I tell it in my own words? I have only met Mr. Kuhn once in my life, which was in Los Angeles. At that time we agreed to disagree and have had no association since. What Mr. Kuhn's ramifications may be in an organizational way, I am not familiar with enough to answer your question. I have sold the bulk of material which I considered going to the German Bund through the Germania Book Shop in New York City.

Mr. STARNES. At this point, gentleman, there is a roll call vote in the House on a motion to recommit. That will probably take some time; so, if it is agreeable to the committee, we will adjourn now, subject to the call of the chairman.

The members of the committee will be given an opportunity to question this witness at length on any matters pertinent to the inquiry

and for as long as they like. That goes for every member of the committee.

Mr. Pelley, you will hold yourself available for the committee at any hour that the Chair is ready to call the committee back in session.

Mr. PELLEY. I am here in Washington until the committee wishes to dismiss me.

Mr. STARNES. You understand you are under subpoena and you will make yourself available to the committee. You will leave your address with the secretary so we can get you by telephone, or otherwise, immediately when we need you.

Mr. PELLEY. I will do that.

Mr. STARNES. Then the committee will adjourn at this time, subject to the call of the chairman.

(Whereupon at 2:45 p. m., the committee adjourned.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1939

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Joe Starnes (acting chairman) presiding.

Present: Acting Chairman Joe Starnes; members of the committee, Hon. J. Parnell Thomas, Hon. John J. Dempsey, Hon. Jerry Voorhis, and Hon. Joseph E. Casey.

Mr. Robert B. Barker, investigator for the committee.

Mr. Stripling, secretary of the committee.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

## TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY—Resumed

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pelley, in certain questions that were propounded to you during the course of your testimony earlier in the week you were careful to distinguish between the sources of revenue which you have received. You stated, if I recall correctly, you had received certain revenue or contributions or financial support for the work of the Silver Legion.

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Then you stated that you had also received financial contributions and financial support for your metaphysical writings and work?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What other activities have you engaged in other than your legion activities and your metaphysical writings which have been a source of income to you?

Mr. PELLEY. My publication of what might be called secular books. I would not call such a book as the Door to Revelation metaphysical. I call them secular writings.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What do you denominate metaphysical writings of yours, then, or your publications?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean identifying items?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Identifying books, yes; or particular books by title.

Mr. PELLEY. Such a book as I quoted here the other day, Behold Life—that would be considered a metaphysical book. I only distinguish between the metaphysical because you emphasize that, metaphysical and political economy, or meaning Silver Shirt Legion literature.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is there any connection between—let me put it this way: Is there any connection, relation, or correlation between the groups or the persons who have sponsored sympathetically and financially your legion program and those who have sponsored sympathetically and financially your metaphysical writings and program?

Mr. PELLEY. Connection? Well, Mr. Chairman, very frequently the persons have done both.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to find out.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. And uniformly the metaphysical supporters have been 100 percent behind my legion work, while the contrary is not true. Everyone connected with the Silver Legion might not see eye to eye with me on the esoteric writings.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. But you have found that those who see eye to eye with you on your esoteric writings almost 100 percent follow you and your program with the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, which source of income has been the greater to you, your esoteric writings or your Silver Shirt Legion activities?

Mr. PELLEY. I would emphatically state, Mr. Chairman, that my Silver Shirt writings have been a liability to me; that the source of revenue of my publishing house has been the source of revenue in the main for the Silver Shirt Legion activities.

In other words, Mr. Chairman, to put it in common language, I make my money off legitimate, as I call it, esoteric writing and secular publishing and use that money to make up any deficiencies in the Silver Legion work, making thereby probably the largest personal contributor to the Silver Legion work in the Nation.

May I add in connection with that, Mr. Chairman, my estimate is that my esoteric and religious and secular publications constitute practically 60 to 70 percent of the output of my publishing house, the other 30 percent being my so-called Silver Legion literature.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What is the single largest contribution that you recall having been made to the Silver Shirt Legion by any individual or group?

Mr. PELLEY. Let me understand you there. Will you give that to me again?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Will the reporter read the question, please? (The question was read.)

Mr. PELLEY. I cannot recall any outstanding contributions of any size, Mr. Chairman, strictly for Silver Legion work.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What is the largest single contribution that you have received from an individual or group for your esoteric writings?

Mr. PELLEY. You are speaking now—let me clarify that—you are speaking now of contributions as separate and distinct from any form of a negotiated loan?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. PELLEY. I believe I received at one time \$1,000 from a lady in Massachusetts. I think that is the outstanding one. I am relying strictly on my memory any moment.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you recall the lady's name?

Mr. PELLEY. I do; sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What is it?

Mr. PELLEY. Mrs. Sara T. Scott, of Boston.

May I add to that, Mrs. Scott, however, has been interested in aiding me with this work as a private charity of hers since 1930, and that the Silver Legion work, or any of my literature along Silver Legion lines, has nothing particularly to do with her contributions. She is interested in the esoteric phase of the work.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Has she made more than one contribution to you or to your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When did she make the last one?

Mr. PELLEY. Sometime in January of this year. No; wait, I will correct that. December of last year.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In what amount?

Mr. PELLEY. Approximately \$1,200.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How much has she contributed as a total? What is the approximate total she has contributed since 1930, I believe you said it was, when her contribution started?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say Mrs. Scott's contribution over a period of 8 years has approximated \$1,000 a year. Mr. Chairman, that money has been given to me personally to use as I saw fit in any branch of the work.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I see. Now, has there been an interchange of entity of funds between the Silver Shirt Legion activities and your esoteric writings and activities?

Mr. PELLEY. Please explain what you mean by "an interchange of funds"?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You individually head the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You are its founder?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And its directing genius?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, I wouldn't say that.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You are the head of your publications, as you stated in your prior testimony.

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And your publications, or your publishing company, have handled for you or published for you your esoteric writings?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, I might say—

Mr. PELLEY. I want to make myself clear.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Your money comes in to you—the money comes in to you from various sources to be used by you as you see fit?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. To be applied either to the Silver Shirt Legion work or to your esoteric work?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, is there an interchangeability of funds as between those two? In other words, when you receive the money you have the right and the authority to the manner in which you receive the money, to apply it either way?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And you took money from your esoteric writings to support the Silver Shirt Legion program at times?

Mr. PELLEY. No, Mr. Chairman. Let me please get this technically correct. That is not quite right.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That is what I understood you to say a moment ago.

Mr. PELLEY. I want to correct that because that creates a false impression.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. You testified this morning that your Silver Shirt Legion activities and publications and programs had been a liability; that it had been supported by your esoteric writings.

Mr. PELLEY. By my publications?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And that is the reason I am asking you if you don't have an interchangeability of funds?

Mr. PELLEY. But Mr. Chairman, maybe in answer——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is that true? Wait a minute. Is that true? And then you can make your explanation. You do have an interchange of funds between the two organizations?

Mr. PELLEY. On that understanding; yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, you can make whatever qualifying statement you wish.

Mr. PELLEY. I make this qualifying statement: That there is practically no expense attached, Mr. Chairman, to the conduct of the Silver Legion, not having any paid officers, not having any staff of any size. The only expenses connected with it would be my personal expenses in traveling about in personal-contact work.

The big bulk of what I am doing is a publishing enterprise which publishes both the esoteric and the Silver Legion literature.

When people make donations to the Silver Legion they are entitled to receive, and I think has been almost universally so, the amount of their contribution in publications.

Now, may I at this time qualify my statement about this largest contributor?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. About what?

Mr. PELLEY. About the largest contributor.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. About Mrs. Scott?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What section of Massachusetts is she from? Did you say? Did you give us that information a moment ago—the city?

Mr. PELLEY. Boston.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. She is from Boston?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You say she has contributed approximately on an average of \$1,000 a year since 1930 to your activities?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say, sir, but I want to qualify that because my memory has just helped me out here. There has been, or there was in 1932, a lady by the name of Marie Ogden, of Newark, N. J., who very graciously at one time presented one of my men with \$12,000 worth of real-estate bonds, with the understanding that I was to hypothecate them and use the proceeds in the work.

I found out over a period of time that they were not negotiable. I mean by that that there was no market for them. There was no change for their hypothecation for anything like they were worth.

Those bonds were retained in my office, I should say, for a period of 60 days after I found that out, and went out of my possession in a very peculiar manner, by being used as a pledge for an unpaid printing bill at the time, when a printing salesman persuaded the office girl to let him have the bonds for security of the printing bill, and I never saw the bonds after that and had to negotiate myself out of that temporary scrape.

Mrs. Ogden later, in a long telegram to me, and followed by a letter sent to Atlanta, Ga., where I was lecturing at the time, absolved me from any ulterior use of the money and stated she understood what happened and that the bonds and proceeds were consigned and were mine thereafter.

That, perhaps——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. So Mrs. Scott——

Mr. PELLEY. May I just finish? I got the amount of the printing bill from those bonds to the figure of. I think it was \$3,500, so that supersedes Mrs. Scott's contribution in that instance.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In other words, Mrs. Ogden, instead of Mrs. Scott, was the largest single contributor to your movement?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, then, have you, as leader of the Silver Shirt Legion, or as the head of your publications, and as the chief author and finisher of your works in the esoteric field, negotiated any loans of any considerable amounts from individuals, banks, or groups?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir; I have.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What is the largest loan that you have negotiated in that connection?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say \$5,000.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. \$5,000. Was that negotiated with an individual or a bank?

Mr. PELLEY. An individual.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Who was the individual?

Mr. PELLEY. Dr. John R. Brinkley, of Del Rio, Tex.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is that the radio artist and goat-gland artist?

Mr. PELLEY. Wait a minute; my memory——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Was that applied to the Silver Shirt work or to the esoteric work?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, might I, just for my own protection——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. We will give you a chance to make your qualifying statement, but I want to know—I want to have a categorical reply as to whether or not the proceeds of the loan were applied to the Silver Shirt Legion activities or to your esoteric field?

Mr. PELLEY. To my publishing activities. It was to cover a deficit in my publishing activities for that year.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. By the way, has Dr. Brinkley been identified with the Silver Shirt Legion in any way?

Mr. PELLEY. Never.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is he a member?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is he a sympathizer?

Mr. PELLEY. I would assume so.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You have had numerous conferences with him?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir—no; no; I haven't. I have only met Dr. Brinkley, I think, about three or four times in my life.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Does he hold the same views you do with reference to certain questions?

Mr. PELLEY. I would assume so. Now, may I qualify a previous statement?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. For the record?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. Do I understand, Mr. Chairman, you asked me a few minutes ago who had been my largest contributor to either branch of the work since I started business?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, please let me—there was a confusion in my mind at the time I answered your question. The largest contributor would be Mr. George B. Fisher.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Fisher?

Mr. PELLEY. He is an ex-executive, or he was an executive, of the Crowell Publishing Co., New York City.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What was his contribution?

Mr. PELLEY. I would imagine that over a period of—let me see; I have known Mr. Fisher, I think, about 4 years. He has supplied something like \$20,000 to my work. It was so glaring that for the moment I did not see him, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When did you negotiate the loan with Dr. Brinkley?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe it was in—I arranged for it—I saw him first in the Waldorf Hotel in September of 1938, early September. I believe the date was the 8th.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Of what year?

Mr. PELLEY. 1938.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And when was the deal finally consummated and the proceeds turned over to you?

Mr. PELLEY. I should say a matter of 2 weeks later the money was paid me in North Carolina.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. By check, by draft, or by cash?

Mr. PELLEY. By cash.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Has the loan since been repaid?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I am still owing it. I gave him my note, and he is still holding it, and I expect to pay it—have to pay it.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In other words, you contend that it is a bona fide loan and you consider yourself legally bound to repay it?

Mr. PELLEY. I do, sir. That is not true in regard—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dempsey, of New Mexico, has a question he would like to ask you.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Pelley, do you know Fritz Kuhn?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't say I know the gentleman, Mr. Dempsey. I met him on one occasion.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When was that?

Mr. PELLEY. That was in June of 1936, in Los Angeles, Calif.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did he have any proposition with reference to combining your organization with his?

Mr. PELLEY. He did, sir.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What was the proposition?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Alexander, my California liaison man at that time, when I was in Los Angeles, told me one afternoon that Mr. Kuhn wished to see me. An interview was arranged. I met the gentleman that evening in the Lankersheim Building in Los Angeles. He came in accompanied by Mr. Swinn, of the German House, so-called in Los Angeles. He gave me the Nazi salute, which rather amused me. We sat down and talked American political and financial conditions for a few minutes, and out of the gist of the conversation in the ensuing hour the suggestion was made to me—at least, I took it as such from the tenor of the conversation—that the German Bund become absorbed into the Silver Shirts.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Had he ever received any of your literature?

Mr. PELLEY. He couldn't have helped it, Mr. Dempsey, because it was bought in large quantities by the German House there in Los Angeles.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And he believed because of your writings that you would be in sympathy with such a proposition, naturally?

Mr. PELLEY. I could not say what he believed, but that was the implication.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thomas of New Jersey has some questions.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Pelley, since the inception of the Silver Shirts, what banks have you personally had a line of credit with, or any affiliated companies that the publishing company has had a line of credit with? And by "line of credit" I mean a regular running line.

Mr. PELLEY. I never had such a thing that I recall, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Haven't you borrowed any money from banks?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Haven't any of your companies borrowed money from banks?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't recall it at this moment.

Mr. THOMAS. In other words, then, you claim that neither you, nor the Silver Legion, nor your publishing company have ever borrowed anything from banks?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't recall any this moment, Mr. Thomas. If I do, I will inform you.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How many books of an esoteric nature have you written?

Mr. PELLEY. What do you describe as a "book," may I ask, Mr. Chairman?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Well, let us put it this way: How many articles or pamphlets or books have you written? Give us as much information as you can along that line.

(No answer.)

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Name some of what you consider your outstanding contributions to that field.

Mr. PELLEY. The volume Behold Life, Thinking Alive. Something like 130 so-called scripts, which are 24- to 48-page brochures in printed form in covers.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And I believe you stated a moment ago that the largest income that you had received, the largest contributions that had been made to you, and the largest loans that had been negotiated by you were in what you might term your esoteric field?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. May I add, too, you asked me about books; that threw me off for a moment. I also publish an esoteric magazine.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. What is the name of that magazine?

Mr. PELLEY. Reality.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. It is published how often?

Mr. PELLEY. Monthly.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And published at Asheville?

Mr. PELLEY. Now, I cannot say, Mr. Chairman—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Have you ever published any of Dr. Brinkley's writings, or essays, or works?

Mr. PELLEY. We did one job for Dr. Brinkley as a straight printing job, because he liked the way we turned out work, for which he paid us printing prices for manufacturing the items, and that was all.

Now, Mr. Chairman—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not, Mr. Pelley, Dr. Brinkley is the head of any sort of an organization that carries on any propaganda work in this country, or if you are confused by the term "propaganda," carries on a program of so-called enlightenment among the people of this country?

Mr. PELLEY. That—not that I know, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The reason that I place my question in such a manner—and it seems to amuse you—is that some witnesses who have headed some of these organizations object to the term "propaganda" as being applied to their activities.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. They term it "a program of enlightenment," and I just wanted to place it in the alternative so you would have no difficulty or embarrassment in answering.

Mr. PELLEY. I have no knowledge of any such organization or movement.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. By the way, did you know the head of the Black Shirt Legion, or group, that operated for a time quite extensively in the State of Michigan?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any connection with this group whatsoever?

Mr. PELLEY. None whatever.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Hold any meetings with any of its members or its officers?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; that I was aware of.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did you ever have any agreement on concert of action or correlation of activities between the Silver Legion and the Black Shirt group?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When did you last travel abroad?

Mr. PELLEY. In the very early part of 1918.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You haven't been abroad since that time?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Have you traveled in Canada since that time?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Where were you in 1918? Where did you go?

Mr. PELLEY. I was sent by the Methodist Seminary to the Orient to make a survey of Protestant foreign missions for the Methodist Church.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Was that in China or Japan, or both?

Mr. PELLEY. My itinerary was supposed to cover the entire Orient from Japan through to India and the Holy Land, but when I reached, finished my job in Japan, the Siberian intervention—we were in the war, the Siberian intervention was decided upon and I got into khaki and went up into Siberia and Russia as a representative of the international Y. M. C. A. And I traveled in Siberia and Russia during the height of the Communist introduction into that country, and brought out or convoyed many carriers because of the rank of first lieutenant that I had in that capacity as red triangle secretary. That was my first introduction to communism. I saw it come in and that is where I got my first animus against such a movement.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You made no other visits abroad?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did you travel under a passport at that time?

Mr. PELLEY. I did, sir. It was signed by Secretary Lansing.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you still have that passport?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. It was surrendered in San Francisco when I came back after the war was ended.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did I ask you a moment ago whether you had visited Canada during the past 10 years?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You have visited Canada?

Mr. PELLEY. No. You asked me the question.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And your answer was "no"?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I have not been out of the United States, with the exception of one evening when I visited Dr. Brinkley in purely a social way. He invited me over to see his big radio station across the Rio Grande in Mexico. I spent an hour there and came back, and that is the only—that is the extent of my sojourn out of the country.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did you write a book in which you described a vision of yours in which you claim to have had 7 minutes' visit to heaven?

Mr. PELLEY. That isn't exactly the right way to put it, Mr. Chairman, please. Heaven isn't the scene of the work itself. I wrote an article for the American Magazine which was the lead article for the March issue, 1929, called My Seven Minutes in Eternity, which was a semireligious article explaining a metaphysical experience of mine in my California home in 1928, the year previously.

Does that answer your question?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Yes; that is what I wanted to know.

Mr. PELLEY. However, Mr. Chairman, I would like to register a friendly stipulation—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Well, we don't care anything about that.

Mr. PELLEY. But it is apropos of your question.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I just merely asked you that. I wanted to get that clear for the record.

Now, in that experience of yours you passed away from this sphere?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I never said that.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did you do that?

Mr. PELLEY. I never said that.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You didn't expire, die, pass out, or anything like that?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. But you do claim to have had an experience which did transport you and give you certain visions?

Mr. PELLEY. I call it what we call a hypo-dimensional experience. It is a rather involved esoteric term.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I am afraid you might have to give me some sort of a friendly interpretation of that term.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to suggest that Mr. Pelley be given the opportunity to describe these 7 minutes; not take 7 minutes to describe it, but describe in some detail, very briefly, these 7 minutes. I think it would be very interesting.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Has that book been attached as an exhibit to the record?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I don't think it has. But really I would protest that that is not an un-American activity.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I was going to make the same suggestion. I don't want to go too far afield.

Mr. PELLEY. Furthermore, I will be delighted to give Mr. Thomas the book and let him read it.

Mr. THOMAS. I will withdraw the suggestion.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The only idea I had in mind in asking these questions was because of the undoubted correlation, exchange and interchange, apparently from all the testimony, between your Silver Shirt Legion and your esoteric work. That is the only reason I am asking that.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, we might put it this way: The growth of the Silver Legion was out of the esoteric work.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Not knowing what Seven Minutes in Eternity is, I am not qualified to state whether or not it would be un-American or subversive.

Mr. THOMAS. I will withdraw the suggestion.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right; Mr. Casey of Massachusetts.

Mr. CASEY. Was that 7 minutes in eternity something premeditated by you or something that just came over you involuntarily?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Casey, that was the most—one of the outstanding experiences of my life, of lying down to sleep in my bungalow in Altadena one night, and finding my consciousness, as we say in our work, detached from my physical body and for 6 months after telling that experience in the office of the American magazine, the editors begged me to write it up. I didn't want to do it. It was a religious experience.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You did write it up?

Mr. PELLEY. And finally they prevailed upon me to write it up and I discovered—and I might say that that was the beginning and

the basis of the large increase that grew in my work because we had a mail like Lindbergh's in the American Magazine office as a result of it.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How much did you receive for writing up that experience?

Mr. PELLEY. I received my regular stipend for work that I was doing the American at that time because I was on the staff at \$1,500.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How much did it amount to?

Mr. PELLEY. \$1,500.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, that house in California where you went through this experience, does that still belong to you?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. I relinquished that in 1929.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That was sold?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. To whom?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean did I sell it?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. It was not sold on that basis. It was a foreclosure.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. A foreclosure, but at one time in some of your magazines at least, there appeared an advertisement with a picture of this house?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And a statement saying that the house would undoubtedly be enhanced in value by virtue of you having undergone these 7 minutes in eternity?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say decidedly so.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. But you now say the house suffered a mortgage foreclosure?

Mr. PELLEY. That isn't a true picture. The mere fact that I wrote that in a magazine and was published and 2,000,000 copies were sold and had such a terrific interest throughout the Nation, has made the house particularly notable, and for that reason it was non-profit in my pocket, because that was relinquished almost the same month the magazine published the article.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Was there a mortgage foreclosure on the house?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir. I relinquished my work in California and came to New York and liquidated all my affairs in California the best I could at that time, in order to come to New York to engage in this work, and it was relinquished to a first mortgage.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Voorhis of California wishes to ask a question.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, yesterday I believe in answer to a question you said that the term "militia" as applied to your organization was faulty terminology and that you no longer used terms of that kind.

Now, I have here the handbook One Million Silver Shirts By 1939, and I notice in here Mr. Zachary is still called field marshal and that you have what you call county posts and vigilante encampments. Aren't those essentially military terms?

Mr. PELLEY. They are essentially military terms as I explained yesterday, but the term "militia," as I discussed it with Mr. Mason, would imply, perhaps, a certain type of force or violence, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. I believe that.

Mr. PELLEY. May I finish? Here is something that perhaps would have a very great bearing on the line of questions that would go to the edification of the committee.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Well, be responsive.

Mr. PELLEY. It answers something that Mr. Voorhis—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The committee is after testimony and not edification. I doubt if the witness could edify this committee.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, Mr. Starnes—

Mr. VOORHIS. Just a minute, Mr. Pelley. In this booklet it says: "When demonstration of orderly manpower are essential to warn the subversive elements." That is just one sentence. And then you have such phraseology as "sectional vigilance," and yesterday you said, in answer to a question, that you believed—and I think I took it down correctly—that you wanted "a group of men to come together aggressively to uphold a principle."

Now, how many such groups could a country safely have operating at the same time in it without undermining constitutional government?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, I have tried to make it clear to this committee that my conception of the whole Silver Legion movement was predicated and premised on the fact that constitutional government might in time be overthrown, but I want—I would like to show this committee the certificate of dissolution of the Silver Legion right here.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Make your answers responsive to the questions.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, Mr. Pelley, in here there is a section which says: "What does Silver Shirts propose to accomplish?" and one of the sections in that states:

I propose to treat personally with John L. Lewis, Robert M. La Follette, and Samuel Dickstein, as three treasonable and surreptitious disrupters of a free republic, to deal with them as common enemies of constitutionalism, to arrest them as soon as possible with Silver Shirt backing, and after presenting due evidence of their traitorous activities to a Silver Shirt jury, to confine them upon conviction in a Federal penitentiary for the remainder of their lives.

I shall further effect such legislative measures as may automatically confine them in the said penitentiaries whosoever shall interest himself in their liberation or work for their release upon any premise.

Now, I can understand how these gentlemen may disagree with you, or you with them, about your political or economic views, but, so far as I know, none of them has committed a crime, and I cannot understand how you would propose as President, or leader of the Nation, if you should be, to do a thing like that.

Mr. PELLEY. Because I consider those gentlemen have engaged in communistic activities and communistic attempts to undermine our Government and make our economic plight worse at the present time, but that evidence is not allowable in this court or committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I don't think any such evidence could be presented.

Mr. PELLEY. That is a matter of opinion, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would there be any other people who might be added to that list, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Decidedly.

Mr. VOORHIS. You wouldn't possibly consider anybody here at the table as being eligible to be added to that list?

MR. PELLEY. I don't see how I could after the affection I have tried to manifest for this committee.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. I want to state again the committee is not interested in the affections of the witness.

MR. VOORHIS. Well, that is all right.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. And I wish that the members of the committee would confine their questions to un-American and subversive activities.

MR. VOORHIS. I think this is a most significant statement, Mr. Chairman.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. I must repeat again, as chairman of the committee that I am not concerned in the affections of the witness nor in the opinions of the witness about people in public life and public character, and I regret exceedingly that the gentleman has brought in the names of some of the leading public officials of this Republic of ours in this connection.

MR. CASEY. Well, Mr. Chairman—

MR. VOORHIS. Well, Mr. Chairman, just a minute. The gentleman—

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. You have asked the question. It is in the record. Proceed.

MR. VOORHIS. I did not bring the names of those gentlemen in for any reason other than to show what Mr. Pelley proposed to do.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California knows that the committee has been criticized, and he has been one of those who criticized it, about permitting witnesses to make statements on the stand here before this committee which would impugn the motives of leading American citizens and would classify them as Communists and would tend to discredit those people in the eyes of the American people. That is the reason the Chair is insisting that that be stopped.

MR. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, that was a passing question.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. The Chair insists that this committee not be made a sounding board to attack any American citizen.

MR. VOORHIS. Well, I accept the nomination, Mr. Chairman, as being a person who is trying to drag these names down, but I am not, and I think the chairman knows perfectly well I am not.

Now, Mr. Pelley, I want to ask you another question. It says here in this same booklet that I was asking you questions about before:

I propose to effect the fullest and friendliest understanding in international relationships with all rightist and anticommunistic nations abroad—particularly Germany, Austria, Italy, Spain, and Japan—with Mexico and Canada added if so be it their governments become dominated by similarly anti-Jewish and anti-communistic groups, while at no time purporting to copy any dictatorial systems of so-called Fascist governments.

Now, I have no quarrel with that, but why don't you say that you propose to effect the kindest understanding with "all democratic nations"?

MR. PELLEY. Because I do not believe in this much-touted democracy when our country is a republic, Mr. Voorhis. Democracy means "rule of the mob." Demos. It was not used in our original set-up by the Founding Fathers.

MR. VOORHIS. As I understand it, today we mean—at least I mean by constitutional democracy a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, under the terms of our democracy, but if you mean something else, it would be hard for us to get together.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't mean something else. I mean that, too. But democracy is not the term to apply to that.

Mr. VOORHIS. There is also a proposal in here where you propose to make—

Improvident colored people south of the Mason and Dixon line wards of the Republic.

I wonder what you mean by that?

Mr. PELLEY. Very much the same care that is expended on them that is given to the Indians of our reservations. I believe that is stated in there.

Mr. VOORHIS. No. It says that the Indians should not be so treated; that they should be emancipated and should not be treated any longer, I think, as wards, and I wondered what you meant. What does that term imply: "Wards of the Government"?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, the only case I can draw, Mr. Voorhis, as I say, is the status of the North American Indians since 1800.

Mr. VOORHIS. Would you subscribe without reservation to the principles of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights in the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness?

Mr. PELLEY. I do.

Mr. VOORHIS. You subscribe to that without exception?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; in the sense in which the founding fathers used the term. I mean not quibbling over terms.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean you would apply it to all races and groups of people and all religions?

Mr. PELLEY. But, Mr. Voorhis, with this exception: I would not say that that entitles Chinese, Orientals, Chinese, to come in here and enjoy the same privileges in the United States, and I think other races, too, would fall in that same category.

Mr. VOORHIS. Now, on page 28 in this book, I read this:

On the other hand, there may be hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of men who are not in an economic position to come out openly and fearlessly as members of a public post. They are no less good Silver Shirts, but for entirely legitimate reasons of their own they may not be able to appear as Silver Shirts until the great crisis has been precipitated and the rightist forces of this Nation may need manpower.

Do you have many secret members in the Silver Shirts?

Mr. PELLEY. We have no secret members, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You haven't?

Mr. PELLEY. I am talking about the 75,000 more supporters that I referred to the other day in answering a question by the Chairman.

Mr. VOORHIS. With a view to gathering together the rightist forces?

Mr. PELLEY. The gathering together of forces to uphold rightist principles.

Mr. VOORHIS. As opposed to leftist principles?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And would you say that you would divide the Nation down the middle as between those two groups?

Mr. PELLEY. I think they have already divided the Nation into two groups, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. I hope not, Mr. Pelley. And I think that is the purpose of this committee, to prevent that very thing from happening.

Now, here is something——

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. I take exception to that remark of Mr. Voorhis. The purpose of this committee is only to investigate un-American activities and un-American propaganda.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. We have no other purpose.

Mr. VOORHIS. But I believe by investigating the Communists on the one hand and the Nazis and Fascists on the other, Mr. Thomas—that if you can reduce the influence of both of those groups, that you thereby will prevent a possible division of the Nation.

Mr. THOMAS. If that is what you mean it is all right, but, after all, we have got only one purpose.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And that is to investigate un-American and subversive activities.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, it asks in this little booklet, it says, "The Legion will support itself by a series of pledges," and it asks that people pay not less than 10 cents per week for the organization's national upkeep. I just wondered how successful that had been.

Mr. PELLEY. The revenue from that source has been almost negligible, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. It has?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; may I add, Mr. Voorhis, I say the booklet from which you are quoting and asking me these questions seems to imply that it is a continuing program.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, it was published in 1939, Mr. Pelley.

Mr. PELLEY. But in 1940 I am contemplating dissolution of the Silver Legion, so I wouldn't want the committee——

Mr. DEMPSEY. We are not concerned with what you are going to do; we are concerned with these writings—not about your future intents. We want to find out about these.

Mr. PELLEY. What I have done?

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, have you employed confidential informants here in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. Did I do what, sir?

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you employed people in Washington to give you confidential information?

Mr. PELLEY. I have, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Of what was going on? In what kind of information were you interested in that connection?

Mr. PELLEY. That is a difficult question to answer. Any information that would make a good story in which my readers would be particularly interested.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you employ people in California for that same purpose?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Have you ever contacted a man by the name of Dinnelly?

Mr. PELLEY. What was the question?

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you ever contact Mr. Dinnelly either directly yourself or through a third party?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. You haven't?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; that is a gentleman from San Francisco you are talking about?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. My information on that, sir, is that he appeared in my Asheville plant, I think in 1938, and solicited an interview. I was not there. Afterwards he came through to Washington and spent some time with my attorney here.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see.

Mr. PELLEY. The nature of what they said I don't know, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see. You don't know what the connection between his work and yours might be?

Mr. PELLEY. There is no connection.

Mr. VOORHIS. Has there ever been any connection between you, Mr. Pelley, and your organization, and any of the other groups that have thoughts along similar lines?

Mr. PELLEY. Never a connection, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. There have been attempts, however, have there not, on the part of some other groups to effect a union with you?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. From time to time?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Hasn't that been true of a good many of these other groups?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Hasn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. No; because I just told you about Mr. Kuhn's group.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; I know; but hasn't Mr. Deatherage approached you with that idea in view?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Never did?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. When they formed the American National Confederation, I think it was called, they did not invite you to join with that movement?

Mr. PELLEY. I think an invitation came to New York to confer with it, which I merely acknowledged and said I wasn't interested.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was there any particular reason why you did not want to join these other groups?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir; because I could not, I will say, jeopardize people that believed in a distinct set of principles with the influences and supervision of others who might have rightly or differ as to details or even as to essence. I was responsible for the teachings that I had put out, and I wanted no ulterior influence to come in there and change them in the slightest.

Mr. VOORHIS. I see. Now, Mr. Pelley, I want to ask you a question, and if the rest of the members on the committee don't want it to be answered, they can strike it from the record before you answer it, but I would like to finish my question before that happens.

In this book called Cripple's Money I read you just one sentence. It says:

Has Mr. Roosevelt, or does Mr. Roosevelt, profit from the ball revenues in the main? That he does not, but that the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation does

not, either—at least to any such extent as the public has been led to suppose—is the conclusion to be drawn from most of these reliable evidence to date.

Now, my question is you make that statement yourself in your little booklet, Mr. Pelley, and yet you put this thing [referring to an issue of *Liberation* dated Asheville, N. C., April 7, 1939] on the front of your paper.

Now, I want to know whether you don't think that is a pretty scurrilous thing to do?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, the Chair will have to again make the ruling it made in the beginning, that if such statements are true—

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley says—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. The Chair is attempting to make a statement here and a ruling.

Mr. VOORHIS. I beg your pardon.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The Chair wishes again to repeat what he has said heretofore concerning questions that he deems improper. If this witness or any other persons made such a statement the Chair would not believe it. He would think it was contemptible and untrue.

In addition, it has absolutely no bearing on the questions before the committee. The Chair's ruling is based upon that fact. It has absolutely no bearing upon un-American and subversive activities.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Mr. Chairman—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. If that is true it would border upon defamation of character or criminal libel, but certainly it charges no one with un-American or subversive activities or seeking to undermine or overthrow the form of this Government.

The Chair further states that if the witness did make the statement and he was asked by this committee concerning it, it gives the witness an opportunity to make an answer which would be a personal attack upon the President of the United States, and I certainly will rule the question and answer as being improper.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right, you have made your ruling.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. I will ask the gentleman to conduct himself in an orderly manner. If he wishes to take an appeal from the decision of the Chair he is at liberty to do so in an open meeting, but I must insist, gentlemen of the committee, that questions not be directed to this witness, who is a hostile witness insofar as these matters are concerned, giving him an opportunity to use this committee as a sounding board for an attack upon the President in a personal manner or upon any other officer or citizen of this country. Therefore, I instruct you, Mr. Witness, not to reply to that question, and I will rule the question improper and will exclude it from the record and will give the gentleman from California an opportunity to appeal from the decision of the Chair if he so desires.

Mr. VOORHIS. My question simply is—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Well, that is all.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to make a brief statement, Mr. Chairman. I think that is in order.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. If you want to take an appeal from the ruling of the Chair that is all right.

Mr. VOORHIS. If I can't make a brief statement I do want to take such an appeal, but if you let me make a brief statement I will not have to.

My question was simply what he thought about these two matters in his own publication.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You are asking him for an opinion.

Mr. VOORHIS. I have a profound feeling, and always have had, that the office of the Presidency was one that should be regarded with some degree of respect, no matter who holds it.

I don't care if the man holding it is diametrically opposed to my views, I don't think he should be seriously attacked, especially when contradicting statements are in the attaching literature itself.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Every member of the committee agrees with the gentleman that that matter lies with the courts.

Mr. VOORHIS. I don't think it does. I think the thing is carefully worded. I don't think there is a positive statement made in here. It is all innuendo.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. If you want to make a statement for the benefit of the President and the country, if you think it is a dirty, scurrilous attack, you have that privilege.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know what Mr. Pelley thinks about it.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I don't give a hang what Mr. Pelley thinks about it and I am not going to give Mr. Pelley or any other witness an opportunity, so long as I am in the chair, to attack the President of the United States or any other citizen even though he is invited, inferentially, to do so or given an opportunity by a question propounded by the members of the committee.

Mr. VOORHIS. I bitterly resent the impression that I have invited somebody to attack the President. I think the gentleman knows full well what the purpose of my question was.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Well, he has given the witness that opportunity.

Mr. VOORHIS. I have one or two more questions.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, propound them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, do you feel that it is possible for us to solve our economic problems within the framework of our constitutional government?

Mr. PELLEY. Do I believe it is possible? Decidedly so, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. So do I. Under those circumstances, isn't it true that every effort should be made to uphold the work of the duly constituted law-enforcing bodies?

Mr. PELLEY. Absolutely, Mr. Voorhis, so long as they exist.

Mr. VOORHIS. And it would be, therefore, also true, would it not, that the set-up of any group which might either, with or without any definite decision being made beforehand, take the law into its own hands be dangerous to those things, isn't that true?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I cannot subscribe to that. You are asking for my psychology on this problem that we are facing, and that is drawing an analogy to the Minute Men in Concord in '76. Were they ready for a situation when it arose? I say they were, and I say they were not acting illegally or mischievously.

Mr. VOORHIS. They were protecting their own continental government.

Mr. PELLEY. And we are trying to do the same thing, Mr. Voorhis. At least that is our intent.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you propose, it seems to me, to take the law into your own hands under certain circumstances to do it.

Mr. PELLEY. I have repeatedly told this committee, and I still emphasize it, only in the event that it breaks down, and there is no other agency to whom to appeal.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you said a little while ago that you believed that break-down—

Mr. PELLEY. Can be averted; yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; and I hope it is. That is all.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. Comes the revolution, Mr. Pelley, and you and your Silver Shirts step in, is that it?

Mr. PELLEY. No; we hope we might have the chance to do it.

Mr. CASEY. Well, you would make the attempt?

Mr. PELLEY. Comes the revolution; yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. You would be the leader of the Silver Shirts?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. What form of leadership would you take—president, king, emperor, or dictator, or what?

Mr. PELLEY. I would endeavor to restore constitutional conditions and have a plebiscite by our people, and put a man back in the President's chair of the United States with no title whatever to myself. Does that answer your question?

Mr. CASEY. You would merely be the power behind the throne?

Mr. PELLEY. Why quibble about terms, Mr. Casey?

Mr. CASEY. Let us not quibble. You still want to be the power behind the throne?

Mr. PELLEY. I do not. I want to be the power against anything like that and the power behind a restoration of our Constitution as I have known it ever since 1890.

Mr. CASEY. You would simply modestly step aside?

Mr. PELLEY. I certainly would, God helping me; yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. But until that plebiscite you would take control?

Mr. PELLEY. In the absence of any other force of a similar renovating and resuscitating nature; yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Now, when you were in control, would you follow up your idea of the segregation of Jews in particular cities?

Mr. PELLEY. I would until our American people had a chance to speak upon that same subject.

Mr. CASEY. Let me get that clear: Would that segregation take the shape of Jews having ghettos in particular cities, and would it mean the segregation of all Jews into an all-Jewish city?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say the literature speaks for itself.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In this connection, Mr. Witness, I again must repeat the necessity of refraining from any expressions about the committee.

Mr. PELLEY. Please excuse me.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I mean a statement of affection in one moment and then a charge of ignorance in another, the appalling ignorance of another, plus the fact that you have sued the committee, plus the fact that you bitterly attacked it over a period of months in your publications. That reinforces the Chair in its own opinion of its own wisdom in ruling that we don't want any statements of this kind in this record, and, furthermore, that we don't

care anything about your feelings or the feelings of any other witness toward the committee.

We are trying to get the truth. Therefore, make your answers responsive to the questions.

Mr. PELLEY. Pardon me. What was the question?

Mr. CASEY. The question was what you would do in the matter of segregating Jews in particular cities?

Mr. PELLEY. I suggested it would be a very humane and fine thing to designate certain cities where our Hebrew people could live their own lives and religious lives and institutions and not come into troublesome friction.

Mr. CASEY. How would you accomplish that as a practical matter? Would you put walls around them?

Mr. PELLEY. Decidedly not. I would give them certain——

Mr. CASEY. Would you prevent them from having trade and intercourse with other people?

Mr. PELLEY. Prevent them? I don't know what that means.

Mr. CASEY. Would you allow them to do those things—carry on trade with other people in other cities?

Mr. PELLEY. It probably would be an economic necessity.

Mr. CASEY. But you think that would solve the problem which you say is a problem in your mind?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Now, would you do a similar thing to any other group say the Negroes?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; we have no racial friction, that is, of any size with the Negroes.

Mr. CASEY. I was interested in your remark that something made a good story. You are interested in good stories, aren't you Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir; but not exclusively——

Mr. CASEY. Now, there are other people who are interested.

Mr. PELLEY. I mean that was just a side, facetious remark at the moment.

Mr. CASEY. You are interested in publishing good stories?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Stories of interest to the readers of your publications?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct, sir.

Mr. CASEY. And you have 7 minutes in eternity which you published and received \$200 a minute for those 7 minutes in eternity?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And you published a booklet stating why you would not appear before this committee, did you not?

Mr. PELLEY. A statement of why I would not?

Mr. CASEY. A statement of why you would not appear before this committee?

Mr. PELLEY. Would you identify the book?

Mr. CASEY. Have you no memory of publishing anything like that?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean the Dies Political Posse?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. I published that book. I identified it yesterday.

Mr. CASEY. And you have published speeches of Congressman Thorkelson?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Did you charge money for that?

Mr. PELLEY. I charged the cost.

Mr. CASEY. You charged 10 cents?

Mr. PELLEY. I charged money; yes, sir. But may I call the gentleman's attention——

Mr. CASEY. Did you have anything to do with the writing of any of Congressman Thorkelson's speeches?

Mr. PELLEY. Decidedly not; in no instance.

Mr. CASEY. Now, over a period of the last 6 years you have published a great many books and brochures and pamphlets, all of which have been issued for a price to the public, varying from 10 cents up to—what was your highest price?

Mr. PELLEY. Twenty-five cents.

Mr. CASEY. Twenty-five cents your highest price?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And apropos of being interested in good stories, in 1930 you were in New York in your flat at Fifty-third Street and you were reading the biography of Benito Mussolini, and you suddenly came to and realized that you had read one full page of that biography and absorbed every word of it with your eyes completely shut?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir. In telekinetic research, that is a phenomena we discover in a great many people.

Mr. CASEY. But you yourself stated in a book that you had had that personal experience?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Happened to you?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. CASEY. Now you have also put into your literature another experience in a book called Thinking Aloud. That had to do with levitation and consciousness?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Which you describe as the altering of your center of gravity of thought.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, may I appeal that is not an answer to un-American activities. That pertains to my religion.

Mr. CASEY. You claim to have altered the center of gravity of thought so you could project yourself in appearance to distant cities, did you not?

Mr. PELLEY. May I have a ruling on that?

The Acting CHAIRMAN. Mr. Casey, as I understand it, your question is leading up to the fact that his esoteric work dovetails in with and influences his Silver Legion work and that that is a part of the philosophy in the Silver Legion movement. Is that the idea?

Mr. CASEY. That is right.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. With that understanding and that limitations, that is a proper question and I will instruct the witness to be responsive in his answers.

Mr. CASEY. I merely asked you if you made that claim, that you could alter your center of gravity of thought and project yourself into distant localities? Can you answer that yes or no?

Mr. PELLEY. Anything that is in my publication I stand behind.

Mr. CASEY. Can you answer that yes or no?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. Then we understand the answer is "yes"?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. You also have stated some place else that there is a universal stupidity on the part of mankind, have you not?

Mr. PELLEY. I may have made that statement, sir.

Mr. CASEY. And you think that Barnum was right when he said there was a sucker born every minute?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, please——

Mr. CASEY. I am asking you the question.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't think that appertains to un-American activities.

Mr. CASEY. Do you think Barnum was right when he said "A sucker is born every minute"?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know that he said that.

Mr. CASEY. Haven't you stated Barnum said there was a sucker born every minute?

Mr. PELLEY. Not in the connection which you are using there to apply.

Mr. CASEY. I refer you to Thinking Alive, page 311.

Mr. PELLEY. Not in the connection in which you are using it.

Mr. CASEY. No matter what connection. Haven't you stated in your writings that Barnum said there was a sucker born every minute, haven't you?

Mr. PELLEY. That phrase may have been used, but I want to know how——

Mr. CASEY. Answer yes or no. That is not a difficult question.

Mr. PELLEY. (No answer.)

Mr. CASEY. Haven't you stated that Barnum stated there was a sucker born every minute in your writing?

Mr. PELLEY. I may have said such a thing; yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. And didn't you add "and most of them lived"?

Mr. PELLEY. That is just a passing witticism, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. You have never sought to profit upon that state of mind which you shared?

Mr. PELLEY. I have not; sir. May I decidedly emphasize that my literary revenue before I began this work was better than \$20,000 a year.

Mr. CASEY. I haven't asked you any question.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; you did. You did not let me finish.

Mr. CASEY. You have answered every question I have asked you. Now, I shall ask you another question.

Mr. PELLEY. You asked me if I had not profited——

Mr. CASEY. And your answer was what?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. CASEY. Have you placed on your mailing list the names of Representatives and Senators——

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. To receive copies of these books?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. And those are given out free?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. With the hope they will influence Senators and Congressmen?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know what you mean by "influence."

Mr. CASEY. Bring them around to your point of view.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir. I consider that is a very American thing to do.

Mr. CASEY. Have you ever sent large bundles of literature to any particular Representative or Senator?

Mr. PELLEY. Not that I recall—large bundles of literature; no, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever send more than one copy at a time so that a particular Representative or Senator might be a medium of distribution?

Mr. PELLEY. I do not recall; sir, unless they had requested it. I have had many requests from them for that.

Mr. CASEY. You have had many requests?

Mr. PELLEY. For more than one copy where they said: "Can you let me have several copies of such and such an issue."

Mr. CASEY. From Representatives or Senators?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. What Representatives or Senators have you had that request from?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't give you that, but I will be delighted to do it after the investigation.

Mr. CASEY. All right; will you do that for us?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. At another point in your writing, Mr. Pelley, you claim to have undergone a complete physical alteration between midnight and sunrise?

Mr. PELLEY. If that is in my book, yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. It is in your book *New Liberator*, June 1931?

Mr. PELLEY. I stand by that.

Mr. CASEY. Pages 4 and 5?

Mr. PELLEY. I stand by that.

Mr. CASEY. You stand by that?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. That is all.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask one more question?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from California has a question.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, you employed Mr. David Mayme here in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I can't say I employed him, Mr. Voorhis. The status of the arrangement was that Mr. Mayme very often sent me down some items of interest that he thought would appeal to our people, and when I came to Washington from time to time, if he needed a ten-dollar bill I gave it to him.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you ever employ him in Asheville to make an investigation for you down there of any public officials?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, I did; that is true.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was the purpose of that, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Because I was having at that time a very unpleasant, distressful series of attacks on my printing plant and I wanted to know who was responsible.

Mr. VOORHIS. What kind of an investigation did Mr. Mayme make in that connection?

Mr. PELLEY. He wasn't very successful.

Mr. VOORHIS. What was he trying to find?

Mr. PELLEY. Trying to find out who was coming there at night and throwing rocks and stones and ripe tomatoes and whatnot at the front of my publishing plant.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you think public officials were doing that?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I would not say I thought public officials were doing it.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then why did you investigate public officials or attempt to?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, I don't know what you mean, Mr. Voorhis. I don't know that I did investigate public officials.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understood you to say a minute ago that you did.

Mr. PELLEY. I may not have understood your question. I am having difficulty in hearing.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did Mr. Mayme, or did he not, investigate public officials?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know what he investigated. I only know what I asked him to get for me.

Mr. VOORHIS. What did you employ him to investigate?

Mr. PELLEY. I answered your question.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes, and you told me in answer to it that you employed him to investigate public officials.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, I will qualify that or withdraw it.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean that you——

Mr. PELLEY. In other words, Mr. Voorhis, I am not trying to evade your question in any way. There has been a very great deal of animosity down there in Asheville that appeared in our newspapers and whatnot, and attacks on my building, and I wanted to try to find out the specific individuals who were behind it; if they were public officials, that was their hard luck.

Mr. VOORHIS. But Mr. Mayme did not find out anything?

Mr. PELLEY. Not satisfactorily, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Any other question by the members of the committee at this time?

Mr. CASEY. I would like to ask another question.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. CASEY. Did you state in one of your pamphlets that you, although the committee had claimed to be looking for you, that you made no attempt to avoid appearing before the committee, but had gone about your business in quite the usual tenor of your ways?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir; I believe I made that statement at that date.

Mr. CASEY. You say now that you made no attempt to avoid the committee's endeavor to have you appear before it?

Mr. PELLEY. That was at that date, the date of the pamphlet that the statement was made.

Mr. CASEY. What date was that?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know. You have the pamphlet in front of you. In other words, I identify it.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us get the approximate date, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. All right, I will ask him the approximate date. What was the approximate date?

Mr. PELLEY. That I made the statement?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PELLEY. I think it was prior to August 1.

Mr. CASEY. Prior to August 1?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, I believe so.

Mr. CASEY. So since August 1 you have attempted to evade the committee's efforts to bring you before it?

Mr. PELLEY. No, I could not commit myself to that.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, where were you in the month of December, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Going about my business in the United States, traveling from State to State.

Mr. VOORHIS. You knew the committee wanted to bring you before it at that time?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, I knew that through the newspapers, by hearsay.

Mr. VOORHIS. It wasn't possible to serve you with a subpoena if we did not know where you were?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, that is true.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then later why did you decide you would come in?

Mr. PELLEY. Didn't I yesterday—pardon me, the question——

The Acting CHAIRMAN. You do travel extensively throughout the United States?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, indeed. I travel pretty near 100,000 miles a year, Mr. Chairman. My automobile shows nearly 100,000 miles a year.

Mr. CASEY. I should think he could project himself, Mr. Chairman.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. That is a rather facetious remark. Are there any other questions? If not, the committee will stand adjourned until 1:30 p. m.

#### AFTER RECESS

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

#### TESTIMONY OF WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen of the committee during the year 1939, Mr. Barker, an investigator for the committee checked the financial records of Mr. Pelley and his organization.

Mr. Barker, in addition to being an investigator for this committee is also a licensed attorney at law. He is familiar with the procedure of the committee and in view of the fact that the committee at the present time is operating without the benefit of counsel, I am going to suggest to the committee that we let Mr. Barker conduct this examination.

If any member of the committee desires to ask questions during the course of Mr. Barker's examination, or after that, they may do so. Is that agreeable with all of you?

Mr. CASEY. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barker will you take charge of the witness?

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, has the witness been informed that he is still under oath?

The Acting CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes, certainly. Mr. Pelley, you understand, of course, after you made your first public appearance

before this committee that every statement that you have made has been under oath. You understand that?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, have you used any other name other than the name of William Dudley Pelley in your traveling about the country?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. What name did you use?

Mr. PELLEY. William Goodale.

Mr. BARKER. William Goodale?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right. May I qualify that?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I believe you said that was one of your pseudonyms—of the names under which you have written?

Mr. PELLEY. It is mostly due to the fact that my name being publicized as it is, it very frequently causes riots and disturbances in places where I stay.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, do you know Frazer S. Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. When and where did you meet him?

Mr. PELLEY. I met him in the office of David Babb here in Washington, on Fourteenth Street.

Mr. BARKER. Is he an attorney?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know what his business is. I don't think he has any.

Mr. BARKER. That was at 229 Baum Building?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Babb was also on your pay roll?

Mr. PELLEY. No; Mr. Babb was my—did two or three jobs as an attorney. Mr. Babb is an attorney here and he was—I paid him \$300 for doing a job in connection with moving some furniture and other things in the city. Do I speak up loud enough?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. We can hear you, Mr. Pelley.

Mr. BARKER. Now, under what name did you meet Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. My own.

Mr. BARKER. Your own name?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. William Dudley Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. You did not meet him under the name of Goodale?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Was anybody else present when you met him?

Mr. PELLEY. I met Mr. Gardner first in a social way when I was introduced to Mr. Babb. I knew him through Mr. Babb.

Mr. BARKER. How often have you seen Frazer Gardner since that time?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't think I have seen him only about—no more than four or five times.

Mr. BARKER. When was the first time you met him?

Mr. PELLEY. In his office—Mr. Babb's office.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know when that was?

Mr. PELLEY. No, I can't tell you, Mr. Barker; not from memory.

Mr. BARKER. What was the occasion for meeting Gardner in David Babb's office?

Mr. PELLEY. He happened to walk in—whether by prearrangement, I don't know. I wasn't aware of it.

Mr. BARKER. Was anybody else present when you met him the four or five times you say you had occasion to meet him?

Mr. PELLEY. I think practically every time.

Mr. BARKER. Well, what was the occasion of your meeting with Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't understand your question. What was the occasion?

Mr. BARKER. I mean what business did you have with Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. We just sat there and talked about conditions here in Washington.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever see Gardner at any other place other than the District of Columbia?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I saw him in New York, which is one of the times I am speaking about.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever see him at Asheville, N. C.?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know where Gardner resided here in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. On Wisconsin Avenue.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever have occasion to visit Gardner at his home on Wisconsin Avenue?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Gardner, Mr. Pelley, was a secretly paid agent of yours, wasn't he?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. He was not?

Mr. PELLEY. "Secretly paid agent": what do you mean by that?

Mr. BARKER. Well, he was in your employ?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Secretly.

Mr. PELLEY. What do you mean "secretly," Mr. Barker?

Mr. BARKER. Well, I mean there was no public record kept of any kind concerning his employment.

Mr. PELLEY. Could I explain that in my own words?

Mr. BARKER. Certainly.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Babb, I believe, said that Mr. Gardner was conversant with affairs on Capitol Hill and otherwise, and very frequently would be able to give me good reporting stories as to what was going on in the Congress. That is as much as the secret agency amounted to. It wasn't a regular, continuing employment, but yet it might be taken as such. I mean there was no subterfuge, no chicanery, or subterfuge, or trying to cover up anything particularly about it.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, here are photostats of checks of the Skyland Press, Inc., signed by you as president and by A. H. Talpey as treasurer, on the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. at Asheville, N. C.

In these checks are many drawn to your employees. They are photostats. None of these checks are drawn to the order of Frazer Gardner. I find checks in here to David Babb but I don't find any in here to Frazer Gardner. How did you pay Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. Mostly, I think as I recall it, by telegraphic money transfer—cash.

Mr. BARKER. That was by the Postal Telegraph Co.?

Mr. PELLEY. I could not say that.

Mr. BARKER. You have communicated with Mr. Gardner on many occasions by telegraph, haven't you?

Mr. PELLEY. I wouldn't call it many occasions; no, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. You haven't?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, what do you mean—qualify what you mean.

Mr. BARKER. Well, you have sent him telegrams on many occasions, haven't you?

Mr. PELLEY. I might have; yes. "Many" is a rather vague term.

Mr. BARKER. Here is a telegram, Mr. Pelley, to Frazer Gardner from Asheville, N. C., dated March 1, 1939, signed "W. D. P., charge Skyland Press." Did you send that telegram, Mr. Pelley. [Handing document to the witness.]

Mr. PELLEY. Is this an original?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I did not. That is not my writing nor my initials.

Mr. BARKER. Was that telegram telephoned in from your office?

Mr. PELLEY. That I could not say.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, it was the procedure of Skyland Press employees in your publishing house to telephone messages instead of taking them up to the office uptown, wasn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. (No answer.)

Mr. BARKER. There was no office at Biltmore?

Mr. PELLEY. No, no; no office at Biltmore.

Mr. BARKER. And Biltmore is approximately how many miles from the Postal or Western Union office from uptown Asheville?

Mr. PELLEY. Two miles.

Mr. BARKER. About 2 miles?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did you or did you not telephone your messages in frequently?

Mr. PELLEY. On general business; yes, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BARKER. Read this telegram, Mr. Pelley and see if you can recollect sending that message to Gardner. [Handing paper to the witness.]

Mr. PELLEY. I can't recollect sending it but I approximately—I would say that I did. I recall two occasions and that was probably one of them when I sent some money to Mr. Gardner up here.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Will you identify those for the record, Mr. Barker? You should mark them as exhibits.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, these have been previously read into the record.

Mr. THOMAS. What does that particular telegram say?

Mr. BARKER. I will read it for you, Mr. Thomas.

Please call at Postal Telegraph, Washington Building, 10 o'clock tomorrow morning for money transfer. Sorry about delay. It won't happen again.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the date of that telegram?

Mr. BARKER. March 1, 1939. Mr. Pelley, when did you employ Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean the date?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, strictly speaking, Mr. Barker, I did not employ him. The situation, if the committee wishes it explained, was this: I met Mr. Gardner in Mr. Babp's office, as I heretofore said, and then I had a man by the name of Mr. Cummings who came to my hotel one night and said he had met Mr. Gardner. I think it was at some restaurant here in town, and talked about sending stories for us. Congress then just opening and I wanting a reporter of that kind up here to use down there, and, let me see—I am trying to recall—asked me if it would be all right to make a deal with him.

I told him, "Yes, go ahead, see what Gardner wants and what he could produce and I will put it on a trial basis to see what the trend of material would be."

Mr. BARKER. Did you instruct Marion Henderson, your secretary, to accept collect messages from Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't recall.

Mr. BARKER. Telephone number 4810, Asheville, N. C.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't remember instructing her; no.

Mr. BARKER. Were messages accepted collected from Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. And those messages came from Gardner's telephone number, Wisconsin 0430 from his home, 3224 Wisconsin Avenue?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe so.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, you visited Mr. Gardner in his home?

Mr. PELLEY. I did, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And Mr. Pelley, you yourself, made telephone calls from Gardner's home to your office at Asheville, N. C., collect yourself, didn't you?

Mr. PELLEY. I think I did on one occasion.

Mr. BARKER. Here is a record of a telephone call on May 0, 1939, from Emerson 0430, Washington, D. C., Goodale, calling Asheville 4810 collect. Another one on May 23, 1939, Emerson 0430, Washington, D. C., Goodale calling Asheville 4810 collect. You called twice?

Mr. PELLEY. I may have done so.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Gardner frequently called you from Asheville—from National 3587 from Washington, D. C.?

Mr. PELLEY. Called me from that number?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. I can't tell you where he called from. I don't know.

Mr. BARKER. That was the telephone number of David Babp in the Baum Building.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know that.

Mr. BARKER. You had occasion to write Gardner letters, didn't you?

Mr. PELLEY. No, I don't recall; I cannot recall that I did, Mr. Barker. If you can refresh my memory with something——

Mr. BARKER. Well, did you receive letters from Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. I received newspaper stories from him.

Mr. BARKER. You did?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; sent to "Liberation."

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Gardner frequently called you about the activities of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, didn't he?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. He did?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BAKER. Frequently?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Who was your attorney in Washington in 1939?

Mr. PELLEY. That was last year.

Mr. BARKER. Yes?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe Mr. Babb was for a matter of 3 months and that was all. I haven't any attorney.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, if you paid all your employees by check and it seems that you did pay practically all of them here by check, why didn't you pay Mr. Gardner by check?

Mr. PELLEY. He wasn't an employee.

Mr. BARKER. He was not?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, in the sense of—no; he was doing a special job for me—doing a special job of selling these stories.

Mr. BARKER. How long did he work for you?

Mr. PELLEY. I say he sent those stories in—let me see——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When did he send the first stories in?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't recall out of hand. I wish I had something to refresh my memory with.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Well, did those telegrams shown you a moment ago—when were they dated, Mr. Barker?

Mr. BARKER. March 1, 1939?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. March 1, 1939?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say it was approximately around there.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That is when he sent the first. How often did he send you stories? That is the thing I am interested in.

Mr. PELLEY. I would say a couple of times a week.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How were those transmitted?

Mr. PELLEY. He mailed them down in manuscript form.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, did he ever telegraph you any stories or call any stories into you?

Mr. PELLEY. Oh, yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, how often would he do that, just an approximation.

Mr. PELLEY. Every other day.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, that continued over the course of months?

Mr. PELLEY. Put it weeks. Wasn't over a course of months.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How many months?

Mr. PELLEY. March, April, May, June, July—I would say some time in July.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That regular connection between you continued up until the month of July you would say now?

Mr. PELLEY. (No answer.)

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How many reports did you receive during the month of August?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't think I received any, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. September?

Mr. PELLEY. Nor since then.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. On August 1 did you, and after August 1, do a considerable amount of traveling in the country?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I did.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. How?

Mr. PELLEY. Automobile.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Often incognito, or under the name of Goodale, I believe you stated a moment ago?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, yes and no. Mr. Zachary's boy suffered a very serious injury to his leg in the State of Washington, and I drove out there—helped him to drive his car to get out there to see his boy.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When did you go?

Mr. PELLEY. Along about August 1.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. August 1 you went to the State of Washington. How long did you stay in Washington State?

Mr. PELLEY. I must have been out there the better part of a month.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In the month of August. All right. Now, in September where did you go?

Mr. PELLEY. I was down in—I went from there down into California and home through Texas and down to Florida.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Where were you in October?

Mr. PELLEY. I went from there up to Chicago and through to Boston.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And you were continually traveling over the country in that manner?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Throughout the entire year?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I believe your statement was this morning to the effect that you traveled approximately 100,000 miles per year?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In an automobile, or on railway trains?

Mr. PELLEY. Very rarely do I go on the train.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Where did you go in November?

Mr. PELLEY. I was out in Chicago.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In November you were in Chicago. Where were you in December?

Mr. PELLEY. Indiana and Ohio. In other words, Mr. Chairman, I have not been back to my plant since around August 1.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I see. All right, Mr. Pelley.

Mr. CASEY. I have a question.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Casey has a question.

Mr. CASEY. Have you ever been in Washington in any of these months, December, November, or October, Washington, D. C.?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir. I passed through here, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever visit Congressman Thorkelson's office?

Mr. PELLEY. I was in there once, I believe.

Mr. CASEY. When was that?

Mr. PELLEY. If I recall correctly it was back in September.

Mr. CASEY. Back as far as that, was it?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. Except the other day before I came up here.

Mr. CASEY. I think you told us this morning that after August 1939 you sought to avoid appearing before this committee?

Mr. PELLEY. I did not say that, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. Well, you implied that.

Mr. PELLEY. I can't help what the implication would be. I did not say that.

Mr. CASEY. Well, what did you say with respect to that?

Mr. PELLEY. I said I went about my regular business.

Mr. CASEY. Since August?

Mr. PELLEY. Since August.

Mr. CASEY. Prior to August you sought to avoid appearing, is that it?

Mr. PELLEY. Please don't. The answer is "No." You say "seek to avoid," and I don't subscribe to that.

Mr. CASEY. Well, you certainly left the impression, did you not, that at one point you did not avoid, seek to avoid, appearing and at another period you did. Did you intend to make that impression?

Mr. PELLEY. No, no, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Do you say now at no time—

Mr. PELLEY. I say that up to August 1 I was in my plant in North Carolina and since that time I have been traveling. That is my statement. Implications are purely a matter of personal interpretation, it would seem to me.

Mr. CASEY. Well, I am just questioning you about whether or not you were avoiding appearance at the time. Didn't you understand that when I asked questions along that line?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I did not.

Mr. CASEY. You thought then—you thought I merely meant where you were, whether you were at your plant or elsewhere?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. CASEY. So you want to leave it now that at no time did you avoid appearing before this committee?

Mr. PELLEY. I would like for your interpretation of the word "avoid."

Mr. CASEY. Well, did you?

Mr. PELLEY. You did not serve me with a subpoena under the law, I was not there at the plant. All I knew about it was what I read in the newspapers.

Mr. CASEY. You did not know at any time except what you read in the newspapers that there was an attempt to serve you with a subpoena for appearance before this committee?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I will qualify that. It was reported to me that a special-delivery letter requiring my personal signature was delivered in Asheville, or had been received down there, with the Dies committee notation on the envelope.

Mr. THOMAS. Didn't you hear that a United States marshal called on your office down there?

Mr. PELLEY. Didn't I hear it?

Mr. THOMAS. Well, I will change the question. Didn't you know that a United States marshal was looking for you?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I learned that in Asheville.

Mr. THOMAS. Yes; that is right. And you also knew that that United States marshal was looking for you in order to get you to appear before this committee, isn't that correct?

Mr. PELLEY. That was the probability, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Now, be a little more responsive. What did you think, or why do you think, the United States marshal was looking for you?

Mr. PELLEY. Why, I just answered that question.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, answer it again then. Why do you think the United States marshal was looking for you?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, Mr. Thomas—

Mr. CASEY. That is not a difficult question, Mr. Pelley.

Mr. PELLEY. Why did I think. I don't know, sir, why I thought the United States marshal was looking for me. It is too vague.

Mr. THOMAS. What you did know, Mr. Pelley, was that the United States marshal was looking for you in order to have you brought before this committee, isn't that correct?

Mr. PELLEY. All right; that is correct.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I would like to ask one question with respect to that.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right?

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Pelley, did you make any effort to get that special-delivery letter?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I wasn't in the—

Mr. VOORHIS. And so far as you know it still lies in the post office in Asheville?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, how many of these stories Frazer Gardner sent to you were published in your magazine Liberation concerning the Dies committee?

Mr. PELLEY. That I cannot answer, but several of them. They were rewritten, however.

Mr. BARKER. They were rewritten?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, in addition to this telegram of March 1, which you sent to Frazer Gardner, here is an additional telegram of March 9, 1939, to Frazer Gardner, at Emerson 0430. Now, this Emerson 0430, Mr. Pelley, was an unlisted telephone number. Did you know that that was an unlisted telephone number?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Well, who gave you the telephone number if you did not know it was an unlisted telephone number?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know.

Mr. BARKER. Did Gardner give it to you?

Mr. PELLEY. He might have.

Mr. BARKER. You did not get it out of the directory because it wasn't in the directory.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know about that.

Mr. BARKER. This telegram says: "Check mailed you today. Our friend will contact you and Dave Monday." Signed, "Skyland Press." That is an original?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. It was telephoned in. Do you identify that, Mr. Pelley [handing telegram to the witness]?

Mr. PELLEY. As being written by me?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. As having been sent by your office?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I cannot identify that.

Mr. BARKER. Here is another telegram dated March 24, 1939, to Frazer Gardner, at 3224 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Washington: "Important visitors here. Cannot leave before Sunday night. Pennsylvania appointment is for Tuesday anyhow. Sending you package to

home special delivery." Signed, "W. D. P., charge 4810 Skyland Press." Do you recognize sending that telegram to Mr. Gardner, Mr. Pelley [handing telegram to the witness]?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I don't remember, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. You don't recall sending that telegram to Mr. Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I don't recall sending the telegram.

Mr. BARKER. Here is another telegram of April 3, 1939, to G. R. Ninness, South Hill Branch No. 9, Oakhurst Plan Bethelloop, Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pa.: "Urgent have Roy in there advise Lloyd, Emerson 0430 Frazer tonight regarding legislation." Signed, "Carmichael, charge to Skyland Press 4810."

Do you recognize that telegram, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. It is all utterly Greek to me.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know any of those parties there outside of Mr. Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. (No answer.)

Mr. BARKER. Roy is Roy Zachary, isn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't identify that telegram, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Here is an additional telegram of May 17, 1939, to Frazer Gardner, 3224 Wisconsin Avenue NW., Emerson 0430, Washington, D. C.: "Detained here until Thursday night." Signed, "W. D. P., charge Skyland Press 4810."

Mr. PELLEY. That might be.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, approximately 20 telephone calls, collect, were made from Washington, D. C., to you by Frazer Gardner and about 10 of them to Miss Marion Henderson, your secretary. And she is your secretary, isn't she?

Mr. PELLEY. She was then. She isn't now.

Mr. BARKER. She was?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Collect upon which the charges were accepted?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. What reports was Frazer Gardner making to you over these long-distance telephone calls? That is a rather unusual number of calls from March until July?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, I assume that that was the news service that he was furnishing.

Mr. BARKER. News service?

Mr. PELLEY. I did not always get them—I mean people at the plant would take them the same as myself, but that was simply—he probably called for those people there and, therefore, they went under that name. That doesn't mean that they particularly got them. It was in the ordinary give and take of business. The telephone would ring and such and such may have happened in Washington today or important news. The same as any reporter would call his paper and it would be noted and if I wanted to use it, all right, and if not, I threw it in the wastebasket.

Mr. BARKER. Now, did you receive telephone messages from Gardner which were received by somebody in your office, for instance, Miss Henderson, which were subsequently relayed to you by memorandum or oral report?

Mr. PELLEY. I could not say—I could not testify to that.

Mr. BARKER. Did you communicate with Mr. Gardner through Mr. David Babb, your attorney here in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. I might have.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. What is your best recollection? Did you?

Mr. PELLEY. Not very often. Maybe on a rare occasion, if I wanted to know where he was, or something like that.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, what was the approximate date that you first met Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. I cannot answer that out of my memory, Mr. Barker. I would if I could. Unless you have got something there I would say sometime around March 1.

Mr. BARKER. Around March 1?

Mr. PELLEY. I should say so.

Mr. BARKER. 1939?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; it was in the late winter of 1939.

Mr. BARKER. Gardner was receiving money from you weekly?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. How much did you start him out per week?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Cummings said that Mr. Gardner would be willing to serve us with any important news that might be of interest down there for \$35 a week.

Mr. VOORHIS. Just one moment. Mr. Cummings' first name is Hial?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. And he is a cartoonist?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. He is no longer with me. He hasn't been with me for several months. But he had been in a friendly way in the work out on the coast and he came through Asheville and drew pictures for me and very frequently accompanied me around on my trips as a pal. He had no particular office in the Legion. He wasn't on the regular pay roll because I paid him per cartoon and for his art service.

Mr. BARKER. Will you spell his first name, Mr. Pelley, for the record?

Mr. PELLEY. His first name is H-i-a-l.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, here is a telephone call, collect, from Republic 3731, Washington, D. C., Gardner calling William Dudley Pelley at Asheville 4810, collect. Charges, \$4.40, accepted. And that call was made January 17, 1939.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; it might be. I say, I cannot positively identify the date. It was along in the early winter, or I mean the late winter. I said "early winter"; I meant late winter of 1939.

Mr. BARKER. Well, now, there are many, numerous, telephone calls on here from your office at 4810 in Asheville, N. C. That is your telephone number, of the Skyland Press, isn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe it is; yes.

Mr. BARKER. To Frazer Gardner here in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Do you recall authorizing such calls to be made?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. How much money did you pay Frazer Gardner, Mr. Pelley, while he was an agent, or representative, of yours here in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. After he had been sending in stories to the papers for 2 or 3 weeks I paid him \$50 a week, and later on I paid him \$65.

Mr. BARKER. \$65 a week?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, in other words, you were well satisfied with the services that he was rendering you?

Mr. PELLEY. Obviously.

Mr. BARKER. Now, what occasion did you have—Mr. Gardner is no longer in your employ?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Well, what occasion did you have to terminate his employment? What happened?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, because I found out that his services were being misconstrued even by the Dies committee. I had not taken him on any basis except a straight out-and-out bona fide reporting service to my paper; a man that I could get information that I wanted on happenings in Washington. I was a little bit thunderstruck, incidentally, when that development came about. I mean with that construction put on it by the committee as reported in the papers.

Mr. BARKER. Then you discontinued his employment?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Did you pay him for the week during which that happened?

Mr. PELLEY. That, I cannot remember, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Did you pay Frazer Gardner in any other manner except than by Postal Telegraph? Did you ever pay him any cash?

Mr. PELLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. BARKER. You have?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. When did you make the payments in cash? Before you started the Postal Telegraph money or transfer arrangements?

Mr. PELLEY. That I can't answer. I remember I paid him up in the lobby of the Burlington Hotel one day when I was here in Washington.

Mr. BARKER. You paid him in cash, then?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Do you remember approximately what date that was?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I can't. Probably had been working for me. Just happened I was in Washington, and I gave him this money up there in the hotel when two or three others were around us.

Mr. BARKER. Did you send Mr. Gardner an autographed copy of your book entitled "The Door to Revelation"?

Mr. PELLEY. I might have; yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Did you send him copies of everything that your concern had published in addition to the Door to Revelation? For instance, some of these booklets over here and the magazine Liberation?

Mr. PELLEY. It is very possible.

Mr. BARKER. You did?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't say that I did. I say it is very possible; I don't remember.

Mr. BARKER. Was he on your mailing list to receive them?

Mr. PELLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. BARKER. To receive the magazine Liberation?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. He was?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. You met Mr. Gardner under the name of Pelley and not under the name of Goodale?

Mr. PELLEY. To the best of my recollection; yes, sir. He certainly knew who I was.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, did you have any knowledge that Mr. Frazer S. Gardner had made an application to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities of the House of Representatives for a position of investigator?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. You did?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. When did you have knowledge of that?

Mr. PELLEY. He came to me—let me see; it was—I think that was discussed the night that I was up there with Mr. Zachary and he said we discussed the termination of his employment in case he went to work for the Dies committee.

He was very frank about it, and that was one of the things I could not understand about the blow-up that came later, because there was no subterfuge about it. He didn't try to get on the Dies committee for the sake of furnishing stories or anything like that.

Mr. THOMAS. He is now telling what is in Gardner's mind. We have already got that.

Mr. BARKER. Yes; we have Mr. Gardner on record.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. As soon as you can conveniently do so, I suggest you go into the broader aspects of this.

Mr. BARKER. Yes. I have just one or two more questions. Mr. Pelley, what was the date on which this conversation occurred between you and Roy Zachary, and you and Frazer Gardner?

Mr. PELLEY. I would say offhand, Mr. Barker, that it was about a month before the termination of his employment.

Mr. BARKER. About a month?

Mr. PELLEY. I should say so.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, where was this meeting held?

Mr. PELLEY. In Mr. Gardner's home.

Mr. BARKER. 3224 Wisconsin Avenue?

Mr. PELLEY. We were invited up there to dinner one night.

Mr. BARKER. Now, when did Mr. Gardner go off of your pay roll?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't recall the exact date. It seems to me it was somewhere around some time in July. What was the date of the subpoena business when I learned about the trouble here? Could you give me that? It was that week. In other words, when this trouble came up and I learned that the Dies committee thought that he was perhaps, according to the newspaper reports, sort of a stooge for Pelley, why, plunk—things stopped.

Mr. BARKER. Did Mr. Gardner inform you at the time you met him in David Babb's office that he could obtain confidential inside information about the activities of the Dies committee?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I don't recall that.

Mr. BARKER. Did he inform you that he had access to anything that he wanted over on the Hill?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. BARKER. Referring to the Capitol and the House and the Senate?

Mr. PELLEY. Told me he was familiar with Capitol Hill, and that was one of the reasons why I thought he would be a valuable man; in other words, a professional reporter.

Mr. BARKER. Was Mr. Frazer S. Gardner an employee of yours at the time you became informed of this proceeding before the committee about his employment?

Mr. PELLEY. Just let me get that straight. What was that question again, Mr. Barker?

Mr. BARKER. Will you read the question?

(Question read.)

Mr. PELLEY. He was still sending me stories, and I was willing to pay for them.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And did pay for them?

Mr. PELLEY. And did pay for that up to the week that the thing happened.

Mr. BARKER. Then he was still in your employ?

Mr. PELLEY. You might put it that way; yes. In other words, had the trouble not happened, why, he probably would have gone on furnishing us with stories.

Mr. BARKER. And you would have continued to pay him?

Mr. PELLEY. I see no reason why not.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, let us go back to February 7, 1931, when you started the Gallahad Press in New York City. You remember that date was the date on which you incorporated the Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. BARKER. And M. Joyce Benner and Olive E. Robbins were two young ladies employed in your office, and they were incorporators along with you?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. BARKER. That was a publishing house?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. BARKER. One hundred shares of common stock were authorized, Mr. Pelley, and you got 34 and each of the women got 33 apiece?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct. May I qualify that?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. Due to the fact that both women had been in my employ before the incorporation for a matter of a year and there was a considerable arrears in back salary, and that was the way it was compensated.

Mr. BARKER. Now, how much assets did you start out with, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. That I can't answer without looking at the books, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Well, how much did you contribute to the start of the organization?

Mr. PELLEY. I contributed the magazine which the concern took over and forthwith published.

Mr. BARKER. And how much cash?

Mr. PELLEY. I forget the amount of cash at the time.

Mr. BARKER. It was \$10, wasn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't say. The point was, we were incorporating the magazine which had already been established and was owned by

me personally at that time, and the purpose of the incorporation was to sell the preferred stock and thereby provide capital for the continuation of it.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When was that?

Mr. BARKER. February 7, 1931.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You testified this morning, Mr. Pelley, that Miss Scott began making donations when—was it 1931?

Mr. PELLEY. I say her first donation—she first got interested in my work in April of 1930. I would qualify the statement that the \$1,000 a year has come in regularly ever since that time. I told you it was an average over a period of time.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I understood that it was an average contribution over that period of years.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Was that Mrs. Sarah L. Scott?

Mr. PELLEY. No; Sarah S. Scott.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Sarah C. Scott?

Mr. PELLEY. No; Miss.

Mr. BARKER. No. 4 Essex Road, Belmont, Mass.

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, Miss Scott, while you are on that subject for a moment, sent you \$3,800 in 1938, didn't she?

Mr. PELLEY. 1938?

Mr. BARKER. I mean in 1939; pardon me.

Mr. PELLEY. That I couldn't tell without looking at my books. I haven't made my 1939 income-tax report yet.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Pelley, at or about the time you employed Fraser Gardner, or during any time that he was in your employ, did you know that he had an application in for investigator for this committee?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I did not. He told me that he wanted to get a job on the committee.

Mr. THOMAS. I see. That is all.

Mr. PELLEY. May I finish my answer?

Mr. THOMAS. I think you answered, Mr. Pelley.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, I want to ask you a question. You did get \$3,800 from Miss Scott during 1938-39. That is your recollection, is it not? You don't deny getting the sum of \$3,800?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't be positive about the amount, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. But something in that neighborhood. That is an approximation?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; I should say so.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, Miss Scott, who sent you that money, sent it by post-office money order?

Mr. PELLEY. Always.

Mr. BARKER. Those post-office money orders were purchased at about five or six different substations of the post office in Boston and the money orders came to you in hundred-dollar amounts, which is the maximum amount that you came by money from her?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. That is the way they were handled. Now, why did she send you that money by money order instead of sending it to you by check? She had a bank account with the Harvard Trust Co.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know. You would have to ask her. I don't know.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever make any arrangements with her——

Mr. PELLEY. I should say not.

Mr. BARKER. That she should send it to you by money order?

Mr. PELLEY. I should say not. If you knew the lady yourself you would know that that was preposterous.

Mr. BARKER. You cashed the money orders; you didn't put them in the bank?

Mr. PELLEY. I never do.

Mr. BARKER. You never deposit any money orders?

Mr. PELLEY. My practice when money orders come in—maybe we have at times; we put money in the bank if we had some bill to check against, but our practice down there is to take the day's collection of money orders and go up to the post office and cash them in cash.

Mr. CASEY. And then do what with the proceeds?

Mr. PELLEY. Apply them to the—use them as cash in the business.

Mr. CASEY. Put it in your pocket?

Mr. PELLEY. No, Mr. Casey. I think that is a rather unfair insinuation.

Mr. CASEY. That is a natural question.

Mr. PELLEY. What do you mean, "It is natural"?

Mr. CASEY. You take the money orders to the post office and cash them, but do not deposit those funds to your bank account.

Mr. PELLEY. They were properly entered on our books—every cent of them.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, going back to the Gallahad Press——

Mr. PELLEY. In fact, I don't always cash them. Nine times out of ten I have an employee in my office who does all that. I don't touch money except money that is sent to me personally and so specified, and in many cases, let me say for the edification, or for the information, of the committee, I can produce letters from Miss Scott, written spontaneously, in which she says: "I want Mr. Pelley to have the use of this money. It is not to go into the work," because I was averaging \$22 a week out of this so-called racketeering for my personal uses.

Mr. CASEY. Now, you say she wanted you to have the money personally?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. What is wrong with the inference if she wanted you to have the money personally, that you should take it personally?

Mr. PELLEY. You said "put it in my pocket" as though I hadn't made a report of it. That is what I was a little bit incensed about.

Mr. CASEY. Well, if you followed the lady's desire you wouldn't have to make a report if it was for your personal use.

Mr. PELLEY. Certainly I made a report of it.

Mr. CASEY. I say there was no necessity of it if you followed her desire in the matter.

Mr. PELLEY. No. I am not taking money and not reporting it in my income taxes.

Mr. CASEY. I didn't say anything about not reporting it in your income-tax return.

Mr. PELLEY. I make no concealment of the fact that I used the money on many occasions according to her wishes after reporting it to the tax people.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever inquire of her in any shape or manner, as to why she sent you money orders from substations in the amount of \$100 instead of sending you the full amount at once by check?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir; I never inquired about that, and it would have been improper for me to ask.

Mr. CASEY. "Yours not to reason why" as long as it came in?

Mr. PELLEY. That is another unfair insinuation.

Mr. CASEY. You never did ask, did you?

Mr. PELLEY. Why should I ask a lady why she sends me money orders instead of a check, Mr. Casey? I don't know.

Mr. CASEY. But she broke it up in \$100 amounts?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. The sum of \$3,800?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. But there was no particular concealment about it or they wouldn't have been put through the regular channels in the post office.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, let's go ahead, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, going back to the Gallahad Press: That was the first corporation that you organized to do a publishing business?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And you started off on February 7, 1931. The corporation had offices in subrented office space at number 11 West Forty-Second Street, New York City. Is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. Right; that is correct.

Mr. BARKER. You had a bank account with the Continental Bank & Trust Co., of New York, in which deposits were made of \$1,159.15, from June 11, 1931, to October 2, 1932?

Mr. PELLEY. It is very possible.

Mr. BARKER. Well, you did have a bank account with the Continental Bank & Trust Co.?

Mr. PELLEY. I believe I did, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Now you had another bank account, Mr. Pelley, with the Manufacturers Trust Co., in New York?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Do you recall how many thousands of dollars were deposited in that account, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir. Practically all of our receipts were put in there if I recall correctly.

Mr. BARKER. \$7,724.40 was deposited in that account, Mr. Pelley, according to this [exhibiting document to witness].

Mr. PELLEY. Between what dates?

Mr. BARKER. I am just coming to that. Between the dates of September 23, 1931, and June 11, 1932.

Mr. PELLEY. \$7,000. Let's see. That would be—that is approximately correct.

Mr. BARKER. They were the only two bank accounts you had in New York City, do you recall?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Only two?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, you got a hundred dollars a week—that is, your salary was to be \$100 a week, or \$5,200 a year, as president of Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. That is right, isn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. I think so. I think that is what the figure was.

Mr. BARKER. Now the Gallahad Press was a going concern; had bank accounts and was operating?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Incurred bills, considerable bills, for printing? That is, you didn't actually do any printing yourself, you had outside concerns do the printing?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, the outside concerns that did the printing, Mr. Pelley, were the Frieabelle Press of New York?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. About \$1,500 worth?

Mr. PELLEY. Wait a minute. Frieabelle never did any printing for Gallahad Press.

Mr. BARKER. They did not?

Mr. PELLEY. No. Frieabelle did some printing for Miss Margaret Christie, of 299 Madison Avenue, who for a period of 3 months ran the magazine prior to its incorporation under a trusteeship.

Mr. BARKER. For you?

Mr. PELLEY. (No answer.)

Mr. BARKER. She was a trustee for you?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right: for me personally before the magazine was turned over to Gallahad Press.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Abraham Mccrow, of the Mccrow Press, did about \$3,300 worth of printing?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right. That was for Gallahad Press.

Mr. BARKER. And the Model Printing Co., of Washington, D. C., did about \$1,939 worth?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, while this Gallahad Press was a going concern you came down to Washington and opened a Washington account with the Franklin National Bank?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. BARKER. Didn't you?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. You started that account on October 17, 1932, with a deposit of \$1,000? You gave your address as William Dudley Pelley, Hamilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right: \$1,000, if I remember right, was a contribution to that amount from John Larkin, of the Larkin Soap Co. in Buffalo.

Mr. BARKER. Now, in that account there was deposited up to July 29, 1932, the sum of \$29,497.42?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. That is the calculation——

Mr. CASEY. What was that sum?

Mr. BARKER. \$29,497.42.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. Over what period of time, Mr. Barker?

Mr. BARKER. I just read the time. I will read it again. October 17, 1931, to June 29, 1932.

Mr. PELLEY. Please, may I qualify my answer, Mr. Chairman?

The Acting CHAIRMAN. I asked him a question.

Mr. BARKER. Just a minute, Mr. Pelley. I want to ask you a question about this bank account.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Now your salary as president of Gallahad Press—

Mr. PELLEY. And I was writer, exclusive writer of all material Gallahad Press was publishing.

Mr. BARKER. Just a minute. Now, this \$29,000 that you deposited in the Franklin National Bank was funds belonging to Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. Under instructions and by authority of the board of directors.

Mr. CASEY. I ask that he answer the question.

Mr. BARKER. Just answer the question.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; but I want to qualify it.

Mr. BARKER. Answer the question.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. Give him a categorical answer and then you can qualify your answer.

Mr. BARKER. You deposited in the bank account the above \$29,000 and so forth, of funds belonging to Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. Very possible.

Mr. BARKER. That was a personal bank account?

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. BARKER. And you drew the checks on the account; nobody else did any drawing?

Mr. PELLEY. All right.

Mr. BARKER. Is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. May I qualify it now?

Mr. BARKER. And you drew the checks on the account—just a minute now—why did you take funds? They had bank accounts in New York. It was a going concern. Why did you take funds belonging to Gallahad Press and put them in a personal bank account in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. Because on the date this account was opened down here we opened the Washington office and closed the one at New York.

Mr. BARKER. Why didn't you open the account in the name of Gallahad Press instead of William Dudley Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. That was specified in our board of directors. I mean the minute book of the directors' meeting explains why that was done. All the funds were accounted for on the books of Gallahad Press.

It was merely a convenience at that time because I didn't have the other party who signed checks down here and we were opening our affairs here in Washington and I was down here myself to open the office up here on West 15th Street.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you have those books anywhere?

Mr. BARKER. Pardon me, Mr. Voorhis. Mr. Pelley, where are the canceled vouchers that were drawn on that account?

Mr. PELLEY. I think they are in the—I think they were in the possession—they were in Gallahad Press—they were in Asheville, N. C., at the time that somebody, whether it was the McCormick committeemen or whether it was the referee in bankruptcy, drove three vans up

to our place and took everything we had in our shop and moved it out and I couldn't reclaim it.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Now, just a moment. At that point; who was the other party that had to sign checks with you?

Mr. PELLEY. I think it was Miss Robbins, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, this was a personal bank account. There was no countersignature.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. It was in 1931 and in 1932?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. And what was this remark you said about the McCormick committee getting the records or doing something about the records?

Mr. BARKER. May I ask him? I can clear that up.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, the McCormick committee did not come down to Asheville until after the sheriff of Buncombe County received your record on the 17th day of March 1939, under an order of Judge Michael Schenk, of the superior court of Buncombe County, is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know that. I know when I got back to Asheville from California that was the statement made to me. We didn't know who took them.

Mr. BARKER. But Mr. Pelley, on January 17, 1934, you telegraphed Harry F. Seiber from Hollywood, Calif.—Harry F. Seiber was an agent of yours in Asheville, wasn't he?

Mr. PELLEY. He was treasurer. Let me see. He was treasurer of the Silver Legion and the Foundation for Christian Economics.

Mr. BARKER. He was also treasurer of the Silver Legion?

Mr. PELLEY. He might have been.

Mr. BARKER. You telegraphed Harry F. Seiber on January 17, 1934, from Hollywood, Calif., and you addressed the telegram to "Harry F. Seiber, Gallahad College, Asheville, N. C.," and in that telegram you told him that "the Delaware plan sounded excellent," and there was a last line to the message in which you told him "to immediately clean all records clean."

Mr. PELLEY. I don't remember that.

Mr. BARKER. You don't remember that?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, in the examination of officers of the Gallahad Press—

Mr. PELLEY. What was that last you said the telegram said?

Mr. BARKER. Just a minute. I will read it to you. In the examination of officers of the Gallahad Press by the referee in bankruptcy—

Mr. PELLEY. What is it you are reading?

Mr. BARKER. I am reading from the record.

Mr. PELLEY. What is the report? What record?

Mr. BARKER. Record of the proceedings before this committee.

Mr. PELLEY. You mean this Dies committee, or the McCormick committee?

Mr. BARKER. No; the Dies committee. In an examination of officers by the referee in bankruptcy before the referee in bankruptcy at Asheville, N. C., volume 1, page 29—Mr. Summerville, you remember Mr. Robert C. Summerville was an employee of yours?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. He stated in answer to a question—now, I will read this question from the record:

Question. But all the correspondence of the Foundation for Christian Economics prior to January 3, 1934, had been destroyed?

Answer. Right.

Question. All the correspondence of the Silver Legion had been destroyed?

Answer. Right.

Question. All the correspondence of the Legion of Liberty Association had been destroyed prior to 1934?

Answer. Right.

Now, Mr. Seiber, Mr. Kellogg, and Mr. Summerville after the receipt of that telegram from you, carried all of the records of Gallahad Press, including some of the books, down to the furnace of the Women's Club, on Sunset Parkway, in Asheville, N. C., which was the headquarters of your organization at that time, and pushed them in the furnace?

Mr. PELLEY. You are telling me. That is the first I knew about it.

Mr. BARKER. You did not know anything about the destruction of the records?

Mr. PELLEY. Why, I should say I did not.

Mr. BARKER. Just a minute. I will read you that telegram:

HARRY F. SEIBER.

*Asheville, N. C.*

This telegram is addressed to Harry F. Seiber, and says:

Ranger to be continued here with the coming issue; agree with you regarding Washington but shall start east to fix in time for February divorce hearing; you are all wrong concerning weeks whipping rapidly into shape; Delaware plan excellent; suggest sample charter immediately clean records clean.

Now, Mr. Pelley, you are on the witness stand and being examined by an attorney representing the creditors of the bankruptcy proceeding, and you admitted that you sent that telegram and it was signed by yourself, and that is in the proceedings, in the Federal court at Asheville, N. C.

Mr. PELLEY. What I am taking exception to, Mr. Barker, is that your statement there "cleaning the records" replied to taking everything downstairs and throwing it into the furnace. I don't remember just what, and I am not trying to pull a subterfuge here, I don't remember just what the reference to records there may have been. May have meant in the sense of burning up vouchers and that sort of thing.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, you know that you were examined for hours and hours and hours—

Mr. PELLEY. I remember it distinctly.

Mr. BARKER. Before the referee in bankruptcy about these missing records. You heard Mr. Henderson, a certified public accountant who had been appointed receiver by the State court upon order of Judge Michael Schenk, and who was subsequently appointed as trustee in bankruptcy in the Federal court procedure; you heard him testify he could not make an intelligible accounting of the affairs of the Gallahad Press because the books had been destroyed.

Mr. PELLEY. I might have heard it, but I don't recall it now.

Mr. BARKER. Didn't you hear Kellogg, Summerville, and Seiber testify they took the records down in the basement and burned them up?

Mr. PELLEY. That was in——

Mr. BARKER. In January 1934?

Mr. PELLEY. I mean the date in front of——

Mr. BARKER. June 11, 1934.

Mr. PELLEY. In front of what tribunal?

Mr. BARKER. Before the trustee in bankruptcy.

Mr. PELLEY. That would be Judge Craig.

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. I can't recall that I heard them testify they took everything down and burned it up. Now, I can't recall that they said that.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. Did you order the records to be cleaned—did you order that?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't remember, Mr. Chairman. What the word "record" means in that particular, I don't know. I certainly wouldn't burn up vouchers of my own bank account that I would need to make tax returns. That would be imbecilic to do. Just what records I had reference to, I couldn't swear.

Mr. BARKER. But you do say, or you do identify, the telegram? You sent the telegram all right? You sent the telegram referred to? You sent the telegram?

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Barker, after all, this is 8 years ago.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. I can understand that, but you recall some of the circumstances, of course.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. Now, after your memory has been refreshed about that, you did testify you sent such a telegram?

Mr. BARKER. But he denied the last line.

Mr. PELLEY. No; what I am not denying is the identification of the last line.

Mr. BARKER. You denied sending a telegram with the last line in it at the time they examined you in bankruptcy. You said you sent the telegram but you didn't send the last line.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. In the hearings before the courts your company was not able to bring all the records in.

(No answer.)

The Acting CHAIRMAN. In this bankruptcy proceeding?

Mr. PELLEY. You see, Mr. Chairman, I did not get into Asheville——

The Acting CHAIRMAN. I understand, but my question is, there is no dispute about the fact that all the records were not there before the court?

Mr. PELLEY. That might be true.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. All right; that is what we are trying to get.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, right on that point I would like to get a yes or no answer on the question of the telegram.

The Acting CHAIRMAN. He said he sent the telegram.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't deny sending the telegram.

Mr. THOMAS. You admit you did send the telegram?

Mr. PELLEY. Certainly; yes.

Mr. BARKER. Kellogg, Summerville, and Seiber admitted they destroyed the records. The receiver in the State court, subsequently appointed as the trustee in the Federal court said he could not make an intelligent accounting of the Gallahad Press because the records had been destroyed.

Mr. PELLEY. I did not hear him say that. I wasn't there when he said that so I could not tell you.

Mr. BARKER. Your attorney, Joe Ford, was present?

Mr. PELLEY. That might be; I don't know; I don't recall him saying that.

Mr. BARKER. You were present. You were examined. You recall being examined in bankruptcy?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't recall the incident of those two men making that statement.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, the vouchers for the \$29,000 bank account were destroyed with the exception of these few cancelled checks that we have here. The books that you refer to as fully supporting the disbursements of this \$29,000 were also destroyed. There was nothing down there to show where this \$29,000 came from.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Let him answer those questions, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Yes; I am asking you——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Let him answer the questions.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, may I say——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you a question: Were any vouchers of the Gallahad Press Co. destroyed by some means?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You don't know. All right. Do you know whether or not officials of the Gallahad Publishing Co. or of the Silver Shirt Legion testified that they were destroyed and that they destroyed them?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't recall that being done now.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. You don't recall that being done?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I do not.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, if you don't recall go ahead, Mr. Barker.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, please.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Go ahead, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. All right. Now, Mr. Pelley, after you opened this bank account in Washington you had headquarters here at 1019 Fifteenth Street NW.?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. How long did you continue in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. We were here until about the 1st of July 1932.

Mr. BARKER. Then you left here?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. And moved to Asheville, N. C.?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Gallahad Press was still operating, was it?

Mr. PELLEY. No; Gallahad Press was——yes; Gallahad Press was still operating, that is right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, while Gallahad Press was still operating and while you were still the president of it, and while you were getting \$100 a week salary, you and Sommerville and Minnie Helen Hansmann—is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Had gone down in North Carolina and incorporated another organization?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. To be known as the Foundation for Christian Economics?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. That was done on February 25, 1932?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, again, Mr. Witness, the reporter cannot put a nod in the machine or on the record, so please answer. You are answering affirmatively "Yes" with a nod but speak out so we can hear you.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. The answers to those questions was "yes"?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. One hundred shares of stock were authorized, 60 to you, 30 to Sommerville, and 10 to Mrs. Hansmann; is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right. I said "yes." May I qualify that, Mr. Chairman?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When he finishes I will let you.

Mr. PELLEY. He goes on to other questions, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, without wanting to interrupt the continuity of your examination or your thought, when you refer to a point where you can let the witness make whatever qualifying statement he desires, I think he should be permitted to do so.

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. When you ask for a categorical—I mean when you ask a question that calls for a categorical answer, I insist that you give one and then insist that counsel give you an opportunity later to make any statement you care to qualify it.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, he asked me—may I pick up on the last one?

Mr. BARKER. I want to finish with this now. This was an eleemosynary institution, this Foundation for Christian Economics? It was founded for the purpose of receiving contributions and alms, and so forth?

Mr. PELLEY. And conducting the summer school on a tuition basis.

Mr. BARKER. But the summer school was Gallahad College?

Mr. PELLEY. But it was under the supervision of this corporation that you have reference to.

Mr. BARKER. Now, this was supposed to be a nonprofit corporation, is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. That is, paid no dividends.

Mr. BARKER. But you had a provision in here, in the bylaws, whereby dividends could be paid to the officers, didn't you?

Mr. PELLEY. Not dividends paid to the officers.

Mr. BARKER. Well, you certainly did. You had a provision in these bylaws for the declaration of dividends to the officers.

Mr. PELLEY. Those bylaws were written by a competent attorney in Asheville after a discussion of the circumstances as my compensation for the work I did in carrying that enterprise along.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, Gallahad Press money paid for the incorporation of the Foundation of Christian Economics?

Mr. PELLEY. No. We had a tussle over that down in Asheville.

Mr. BARKER. Yes; I know, but didn't you pay Irving Moore, an attorney in Asheville, N. C., a fee which included all incorporation fees of Foundation for Christian Economics?

Mr. PELLEY. I personally went down there and did that; yes.

Mr. BARKER. Then the Gallahad Press—the money came out of the Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I cannot say that. I would not subscribe to that for a moment. I don't remember at this time that that was Gallahad Press money or not.

Mr. BARKER. You testified in Federal court in the bankruptcy proceeding that that money had been paid but it had been paid inadvertently.

Mr. PELLEY. I did?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, if I testified that there I subscribe to it here, but you are asking something again that is 8 years old and I could not say positively.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could I get something clear there in my own mind?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. As I understand it, Gallahad Press was at this time operating in Washington headquarters while this incorporation of the Foundation for Christian Economics took place in Asheville?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Voorhis, please—

Mr. VOORHIS. I just want to understand that.

Mr. PELLEY. I know. May I add something there, please?

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, that is a fact that Gallahad Press was still operating when you incorporated this organization?

Mr. PELLEY. That is true. Gallahad Press was still operating but it was two separate projects, Mr. Voorhis, and the Gallahad Press continued its publications and continued its activities and received the same revenues from its publishing account with no duplication of involvement with what was received for the college project.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, after the incorporation of the Foundation for Christian Economics, you had associated with you Dr. H. M. Hardwicki, of Niagara Falls, N. Y.?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And Robert C. Summerville?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And Donald B. Kellogg?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. He was manager of Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. Well, Gallahad Press still had its regular officers.

Mr. BARKER. Well, he was manager of Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. There was no office of manager exactly. No; I don't know exactly what he was—manager of it? What do you mean in that respect?

Mr. BARKER. Well, he signed checks as manager of Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. That, I don't recall, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Now, on May 23, 1923, Donald B. Kellogg—he was associated with you in the management of Gallahad Press, or was employed by you, wasn't he?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Dr. H. M. Hardwicki was employed by you or associated with you?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Now, neither one of those gentlemen was a director in Gallahad Press nor did they own any stock in Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. I am not so sure about Don not being a director, relying on my memory.

Mr. BARKER. Well, he did not have any stock in Gallahad Press because you have already testified—

Mr. PELLEY. That was not necessary. He could be a director without owning stock under the bylaws.

Mr. BARKER. He was not a stockholder?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know.

Mr. BARKER. You and the women had all the stock. Mr. Pelley, you and Miss Robbins and Miss—

Mr. PELLEY. Of the common stock: yes. That is right; that is right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, they went down here to the register of deeds office in the District of Columbia, and recorded a chattel mortgage to the Foundation for Christian Economics for \$6,000 on the assets of Gallahad Press. They did that, didn't they?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; but that was absolutely—that was in a few days—that was withdrawn. You are asking me those things on memory that are very hazy, honestly.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, that \$6,000 chattel mortgage was set as a claim.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Let us not have an argument. You answer the question yes or no.

Mr. BARKER. I just want to refresh your memory that the \$6,000 chattel mortgage that Kellogg and Hardwicki gave to the Foundation for Christian Economics, upon the assets of Gallahad Press—

Mr. PELLEY. Wait a minute, that is not true. He is making statements that are not fair because they are not statements of fact.

Mr. BARKER. Wait a minute, Mr. Pelley. That mortgage was set up as a claim in bankruptcy later in Asheville, N. C., when the affairs of Gallahad Press went into bankruptcy. Don't you recall that?

Mr. PELLEY. No; I don't recall it that way. No; I don't. Here is what did happen: I, by giving those two women two blocks of stock which represented 66 percent of the voting stock, lost control of my corporation. I went to Herbert Ward, an attorney here in town, and honestly showed him the predicament I was in.

I said, "Mr. Ward, what will I do?" He said, "I would pay off all the bills of Gallahad Press. When they are all paid off, and the stockholders are paid off, and go into your nice clear corporation."

Now, the statement of that chattel mortgage did come up, and, as I recall it, it was not gone through with for some legal technicality there that I just have a dim recollection of. I can't give you the technical details, or I would cheerfully do so.

Mr. BARKER. Well, a mortgage was given by the Gallahad Press to the Foundation for Christian Economics?

Mr. PELLEY. I wish we had Mr. Ward here. He could clear that up, if it is important, because I cannot recall the details. There is no attempt to evade your question.

Mr. BARKER. You moved the affairs of Gallahad Press from Washington to Asheville?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. In the meantime you incurred a lot of bills here in Washington?

Mr. PELLEY. Not much.

Mr. BARKER. You owed Charles E. Stott down here an unpaid bill?

Mr. PELLEY. \$375, which we reduced later to \$110.

Mr. BARKER. That was to Charles H. Potter, here in Washington. Charles E. Stott was \$111, and that is the one he sued you on before a justice of the peace in Buncombe County. They sued you on that? On that \$111 bill in Buncombe County, N. C., in March, and got a judgment?

Mr. PELLEY. Which we knew nothing about at the time.

Mr. BARKER. Well, they got an execution, and a return, and then Judge Michael Schenck appointed a receiver, and that was when they got your records.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, he is making a statement, putting the words in my mouth.

Mr. BARKER. Is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. No; it is not right.

Mr. BARKER. Well, what is right about that? Tell the committee what occurred in regard to that \$111 bill.

Mr. PELLEY. The sheriff came in there, as I got the story later from the principals involved—

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. What is the pertinency of this, Mr. Barker?

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, I am just coming to that point right now. I just want to ask the question if there wasn't a suit by Charles E. Stott & Co. in Washington against Gallahad Press.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; there was, but again I want to qualify these answers. I am not having an opportunity to do it. I think a friendly protest is in order.

Mr. BARKER. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. Wait a minute. I am not finished. I am being cross-examined. Give me time to finish my answers. They brought in a notice of that suit and left it with young Mrs. Summerville, who was not competent to receive it. Not knowing what it was she took it upstairs and put it on Mr. Ward's desk, the auditor. Mr. Ward didn't know what it was and he filed it away and the suit went by default and we did not know anything about it until they came down and demanded payment, and then we offered to pay them and they said: "We don't want your money, we won't take it. We are going through with the receivership."

That was brought out in 1934 and I believe that is a horse of a different color.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Get down to the bank account and show how much money Mr. Pelley has received from different sources to carry on the Silver Legion work or these publications of his, because he testified previously that he had the power to take and did take funds from his esoteric publications and his publishing firm to help carry on the work of the Silver Legion. Give us the sum total of that. We are not caring so much about small detail.

Mr. BARKER. When you got down to Asheville with the Gallahad Press there was a bank account opened in the name of Gallahad Press, William Dudley Pelley, president and D. D. Kellogg, treasurer?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; that might be.

Mr. BARKER. In the First National Bank & Trust Co. at Asheville, N. C., and in that account from August 8, 1932, to November 31, 1932, there was deposited \$4,796.65. That is the Gallahad Press bank account in Asheville. I pass them to you for examination [handing documents to the witness].

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Is that correct?

Mr. PELLEY. I assume it is. It is the ledger sheet.

Mr. BARKER. A photostat of it?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, on June 3, 1932, the Foundation for Christian Economics started a bank account at Asheville, N. C., with J. A. Edgerton, treasurer.

Mr. PELLEY. That is the school part.

Mr. BARKER. With the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co., and that account was started some 60 days before the account of Gallahad Press June 3, 1932. That account continued until November 29, 1932. Pardon me, that account continued until December 30, 1933, in which there were deposits made of \$4,793.16. I pass the photostat of the bank accounts over to you, Mr. Pelley, for your examination. There is also a special account of the Foundation for Christian Economics in which there were deposits of approximately \$2,500. This hasn't been computed, but I will pass that over to you for examination. Now, the Foundation for Christian Economics also had a bank account with the First National Bank & Trust Co. in North Carolina which started August 8, 1932, and continued to March 2, 1933, in which there were deposits of \$18,190.61. I pass that over to you for your information.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Did the witness identify that account?

Mr. BARKER. Did you get his answer to that? What did you say in regard to that?

Mr. PELLEY. I say these photostats being what they are, I would say these represented the receipts of the publications of the Gallahad Press.

Mr. BARKER. They did.

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barker, be careful the witness gets his answer in the record each time.

Mr. BARKER. All right. Now, Mr. Pelley, the Foundation for Christian Economics had a bank account running simultaneously with Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. There were two projects—one the publishing and one the school.

Mr. BARKER. Gallahad Press got deposits of approximately \$4,700 and folded up, and the Foundation for Christian Economics continued to get deposits of nearly \$81,900.

Mr. PELLEY. But, my dear man, that is very true, but from a different source entirely. It had what we call the Foundation fellowship; this correspondence school in esoteric work, which had nothing to do with the publishing of Gallahad Press.

Mr. BARBER. Now, do you know Mr. H. H. Ward, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. He was your bookkeeper?

Mr. PELLEY. Correct.

Mr. BARKER. See if you recall his testimony. Mr. Ward testified in the bankruptcy proceedings in Federal court that the books of Galla-

had Press just quit and in the same ledger the books of the Foundation for Christian Economics started.

Mr. PELLEY. But, on the other hand, Mr. Barker, was there not a page in the books of the foundation in which payments were shown on the obligations of Gallahad Press to offset that? Isn't that true? That they were in there? I mean to put the inference across that that simply—just simply vanished into thin air is unfair. There was nothing that was spent without the knowledge of the bookkeeper and being properly credited somewhere all the way through.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, Gallahad Press had sold \$13,000 worth of preferred stock to some 15 people, 10 of whom were women, hadn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. It had sold stock. I can't tell you whether the amounts are correct or not.

Mr. BARKER. The preferred stock of Gallahad Press?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes. That was the original project to get money to put the magazine across in New York; yes.

Mr. BARKER. Now, you had unpaid bills in New York; you had unpaid bills in Washington, D. C. You also had a—that is of Gallahad Press. You also had an unpaid bill due Bob Williams, of the Biltmore Press, in Asheville, N. C., of about \$6,000?

Mr. PELLEY. I don't remember what the exact amount was. We had bills. We had an open account with them.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you have a record or can you show who the stockholders were?

Mr. BARKER. No, sir; I don't have the record available right here at the moment of the stockholders—the preferred stockholders.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you have records that you could make available to the committee in that connection, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. I think I can get a list of these stockholders. I am not sure of them, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. If you can do it and make them available so we can incorporate them in the record.

Mr. PELLEY. I will try.

Mr. BARKER. Now, on April 21, 1934, Bob Williams of the Biltmore Press had done considerable printing for you?

Mr. PELLEY. \$20,000 worth and had been paid.

Mr. BARKER. He filed a petition against Gallahad Press in Federal court asking that it be adjudicated a bankrupt, didn't he, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. He was one of them.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Summerville of the Foundation for Christian Economics claimed Gallahad Press owed his \$133 back salary and joined in the petition of Bob Williams to have Gallahad Press adjudicated a bankrupt and a trustee appointed?

Mr. PELLEY. That was all during my absence in California. Before I got there. That is all hearsay.

Mr. BARKER. All right. Now, they had an adjudication of Galahad Press in bankruptcy by order of Judge E. Yates Webb? On May 1, 1934, Gallahad Press was adjudicated a bankrupt. You recall that?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Now, the trustee in bankruptcy reported to the court subsequently that Gallahad Press owed over \$20,000 worth of bills not included in the \$6,000 mortgage that was recorded here.

Mr. PELLEY. But that included the preferred stock.

Mr. BARKER. Yes. That is the preferred stockholder who had filed claims.

Mr. PELLEY. That may be true, Mr. Barker, but the sum total assets of Gallahad Press was something like \$35,000 per year on income from the publications it published when it was closed down by the receiver. Now, why did the receivers close that \$35,000 a year publication down? I mean that is the situation that I have got to face in Mr. Barker's questions.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barker, have you some items or records concerning the financial support of the Silver Legion direct?

Mr. BARKER. Well, Mr. Chairman, the Silver Legion—in my investigation I found one bank account for the Silver Legion—does the Silver Legion have a bank account now, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. No. It has no receipts. It doesn't need them. It is not operating on that basis.

Mr. BARKER. I found one bank account of the Silver Legion.

Mr. PELLEY. Pardon me. It does make to the Bureau of Internal Revenue an annual report of such funds as may have been sent in to it specifically for its work and has been doing so since 1937.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you have any other bank accounts? You can insert that amount in there.

Mr. BARKER. This Silver Shirt Legion had a bank account at Asheville which opened May 7, 1934, and closed August 10, 1934, with total deposits of \$2,739.45.

[Handing document to the witness.]

Mr. PELLEY. I can't identify that. That is after the receivership, isn't it. I am asking for information.

Mr. BARKER. No. I started after the receiver had been appointed in the State court—pardon me, it started on April 16, 1934, and this was Harry F. Seiber as treasurer.

Mr. PELLEY. What date did you say the receivership was?

Mr. BARKER. The receivership of Gallahad Press was not the receivership of the Silver Shirt Legion.

Mr. PELLEY. You are not talking—or you are talking about the Silver Shirt Legion?

Mr. BARKER. Yes; April 16, 1934, it started out.

Mr. PELLEY. But, Mr. Barker—

Mr. BARKER. Wait just a minute. Closed August 10, 1934.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Barker, the receiver of Gallahad Press had siezed all Silver Shirt Legion assets, chattels, bank accounts, and everything, and that is what we had the Federal suit before Judge Webb to separate.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, Judge Webb entered an order at Shelby on the 8th of May 1934 allowing the Silver Shirt Legion to have possession of its bank account and the funds that were siezed.

Mr. PELLEY. In 1934?

Mr. BARKER. Yes. He modified his previous order at Asheville.

Mr. PELLEY. Why should we have brought suit to separate them then and that suit wasn't adjudicated until after my trial in Asheville in 1935?

Mr. BARKER. It was not finally adjudicated, but he entered an order modifying his previous order. You recall that Joe Ford went down

there and got a modification so that the Silver Shirt Legion got the income that was received and Seiber deposited it in this bank account. It is prima facie evidence you got it.

Mr. PELLEY. Maybe I didn't have anything to do with that receiver business.

Mr. BARKER. All right. Now, Mr. Pelley, when Gallahad Press was wound up in Federal court there was \$1,300 left to pay about \$20,000 worth of debts.

Mr. PELLEY. Well, I don't know what they did with the assets, because I do know that our beautiful furniture there—I would buy typewriters for \$75 and they were closed out at \$6 apiece. It looked like a gutting of our assets and putting it way down so they could say how we bilked the people.

Mr. BARKER. You didn't have \$20,000 worth of furniture?

Mr. PELLEY. No; but I did have a great deal of beautifully printed literature. They took that beautifully printed matter I had there that I paid thousands of dollars for and threw it in baskets and called in the junkman and said, "How much will you give for this?" "Ten bucks," using his language. My attorney went in and bid \$11 for the pile of papers, and we sorted it out and I sold \$7,000 worth the next year. That is how the assets were just simply scrambled.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, in your bank accounts in New York, in Washington, D. C., and in Asheville, N. C., including the \$34,362 worth of money orders that you cashed at the post-office window in Asheville, there has passed through your hands from February 7, 1931, up to June 30, 1939, the sum of \$220,932.

Mr. PELLEY. All right.

Mr. BARKER. Now, after the affairs of the Gallahad Press had been adjudicated in February—

Mr. PELLEY. That is gross receipts with no deductions of any kind for any purpose.

Mr. BARKER. That is your deposits in the bank.

Mr. PELLEY. That is my deposits in the bank; yes.

Mr. BARKER. After the affairs of Gallahad Press were adjudicated in Federal court down there to be a bankrupt, the State of North Carolina then proceeded against you in a criminal action in Buncombe County court?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, there was a publication which you had sent out. Do you identify this publication? [Exhibiting publication to the witness.]

Mr. PELLEY. I do.

Mr. BARKER. As having sent that out?

Mr. PELLEY. I do.

Mr. BARKER. Now you say here in this publication that—

When his case was finally brought to trial it was proven that he had never sold a dollar's worth of stock in North Carolina in violation of the blue-sky law or any other law, and the only thing that the Federal or local ring had on him was his silly, technical failure to register one of his corporations with the State authorities for the privilege of doing business in North Carolina, and bringing thousands of outside dollars annually into the State.

Mr. PELLEY. I maintain that, and that is my position in that litigation.

Mr. BARKER. It is?

Mr. PELLEY. For the simple reason——

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley——

Mr. PELLEY. May I qualify——

Mr. BARKER. Wait just a minute, Mr. Pelley.

Mr. PELLEY. But you go on to something else, Mr. Barker, and I don't have an opportunity to tell my side.

Mr. BARKER. I will give you an opportunity.

Mr. PELLEY. You don't give me an opportunity.

Mr. BARKER. The chairman instructed me to give you an opportunity and you will have it. Now Mr. Pelley, in addition to being indicted and convicted, and you were represented by counsel too, weren't you?

Mr. PELLEY. I was.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Robert H. McNeil of Washington, D. C., represented you?

Mr. PELLEY. I was.

Mr. BARKER. And he is a good attorney. Joe Ford and J. Y. Jordon and Robert M. Wells, Jr., represented your codefendants who were Summerville, Kellog, and Hardwicki. They were represented by counsel too; is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. It was a jury trial?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And the trial lasted 13 days?

Mr. PELLEY. You still haven't——

Mr. BARKER. Wait a minute.

Mr. PELLEY. No; I will not wait a minute. I appeal to you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Barker goes on into other matters and does not give me an opportunity to tell my side of it.

Mr. BARKER. I am going to give him an opportunity.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. He says he will and I will instruct him to do so.

Mr. BARKER. I will be through with this in just a moment.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. PELLEY. And by that time we will have gone to another subject, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BARKER. We will let you get back to it, Mr. Pelley. Now, the trial lasted 13 days at a special term of court, didn't it, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. It did.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, what you failed to say in here that in addition to being convicted for this offense or this "silly offense of having failed to register with the State corporation commission," so that you might be permitted to sell stock in the Gallahad Press, you failed to state in there that you were also convicted on a second count of the indictment, and that count was fraud in advertising stock—not selling it.

Mr. PELLEY. There was no proof anywhere, Mr. Barker, I ever sold a dollar's worth of stock in North Carolina. Advertising stock in a concern which was proved to the jury, at least the jury decided that it was a fraudulent concern. I concur in that, but——

MR. BARKER. Let me ask you a question?

MR. PELLEY. No; please let me finish my answer.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. Let him answer the question.

MR. PELLEY. Insolvency of that concern depended upon the inventory; and if the inventory had been put in there, it would have made the concern solvent, and that was the basis for the moot question before the jury, and the 7 to 10 thousand dollars' worth of printed matter that I had spent this money for which I am now criticized for, what is in tangible existence in my garage and cellar in Beaver Lake, and it was not brought into the trial and allowed to be presented. If that had not been the situation, I would not have been convicted of criminally advertising stock.

That is what I claim is unfair in this presentation, because it makes it look like I sold—advertised stock in an insolvent concern.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. There is no intent on the part of the investigator to show that. He was merely asking you to state whether or not you had been convicted and had a trial. Now, of course, your statement at this time and this hour is nothing more or less than a self-serving statement. We permitted that in all fairness to you to let you put that in the record. All right, go ahead.

MR. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, the statement that you make here in this publication about your indictment, your trial, and your conviction is incorrect, isn't it?

MR. PELLEY. No; I maintain it is not when the facts are sifted out by an impartial, unbiased person or examiner.

MR. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley——

MR. PELLEY. You can't expect me to concur with the jury down there, Mr. Barker.

MR. BARKER. Here is a certified copy of the indictment and a certified copy of the judgment—of the Order of the Court. You were convicted on two counts of this indictment. There were 16 counts in the indictment and you were convicted on two, you and Summerville. All right. Now, on the first count the judge fined you \$1,000——

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. Let him answer your question.

MR. BARKER. That is right, isn't it? He did fine you \$1,000?

MR. PELLEY. That is not my understanding when I entered into the payment of the fine.

MR. BARKER. Well, you did pay \$1,000?

MR. PELLEY. I paid the \$1,000 fine.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. To both of you: I think there is no dispute about the facts that Mr. Pelley, according to the court records, was convicted and a fine was imposed and he is out on probation now.

Neither the committee nor Mr. Pelley has any right or authority at this hour, in my judgment, to explain that matter or attempt to justify or to criticize that action. It is a matter of record.

MR. BARKER. Certainly it is a matter of record, Mr. Chairman.

THE ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right. Let us pass to something else.

MR. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, doesn't your picture hang over in the office of the Ministry of Propaganda in Germany?

MR. PELLEY. Not to my knowledge. I know nothing about it.

MR. BARKER. Didn't you receive a request from them for your picture?

Mr. PELLEY. Not that I recall. Anybody can get my picture. They can buy it for 15 cents.

Mr. BARKER. I mean a special picture.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't know anything about it.

Mr. BARKER. Didn't you receive a request from them for your picture?

Mr. PELLEY. I can't recall whether I did or not.

Mr. BARKER. In the very beginning of the organization of this Silver Legion, Mr. Pelley, didn't you try to enlist certain employees of the North German Lloyd and Hamburg American Line in your organization?

Mr. PELLEY. No.

Mr. BARKER. You did not?

Mr. PELLEY. Specifically who?

Mr. BARKER. Didn't you have in your employ a man by the name of Paul von Lillienfeld Toal?

Mr. PELLEY. You asked if I solicited them. No; I did not. Mr. Toal was interested in the esoteric work long before he got his job in New York.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. But he did become an employee of yours?

Mr. PELLEY. He later became an employee of mine after he quit his job up there.

Mr. BARKER. Before he quit his job with the North German Lloyd he was an employee of yours to the extent that whenever you received a letter in German you sent it up to Mr. Toal to examine it?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct. I used him as a friend and he translated them because I don't understand German. But I have the same thing happen in all other languages.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you have inquiries from all over the world?

Mr. PELLEY. I certainly do, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. With reference to your esoteric work?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Do you receive funds or donations from other portions of the earth, or do you find all of your, shall I say "clientele," paying clientele, in the United States?

Mr. PELLEY. All in the United States, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Outsiders do not contribute?

Mr. PELLEY. I will make one exception to that. There has been one case of a lady in Switzerland. I think her name is—she goes by the name of Countess Karaga. But it hasn't amounted in the whole last 10 years to more than \$100.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. That wouldn't by any chance be the reason that you concluded American people were what Barnum said: "A sucker is born every minute," and we had plenty of them"?

Mr. PELLEY. That is unfair.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Go on, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. All right, sir. Now, Mr. Pelley, after you got through with the criminal case in North Carolina, and after the bankruptcy of the Gallahad Press, you started your publishing house again?

Mr. PELLEY. That is correct.

Mr. BARKER. And you opened up a bank account in Asheville, N. C., with the First National Bank & Trust Co. in the name of H. E. Martin, one of your employees, didn't you?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. After Martin had deposited about \$2,600 in that account the bank objected to carrying the account in the name of H. E. Martin and depositing therein items that were payable to William Dudley Pelley. That is right.

Mr. PELLEY. I don't remember, Mr. Barker, but it might have been.

Mr. BARKER. Did Mr. Martin report that to you?

Mr. PELLEY. He might have.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Pelley, you got Joe Ford to incorporate the Skyland Press in North Carolina, didn't you?

Mr. PELLEY. That was some time later. That was year before last—1937. It was incorporated.

Mr. BARKER. Yes; it was incorporated.

Mr. PELLEY. That was strictly a printing concern. We were putting in our own physical printing plant.

Mr. BARKER. That was incorporated on the 8th day of September 1937, according to this certificate from the Secretary of State. Is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. And the three incorporators of that were M. H. Pelley. That is Minnie Helen Hansman Pelley, isn't it?

Mr. PELLEY. That is my wife.

Mr. BARKER. You married her July 4, 1934, at Asheville?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And Alfred H. Talpey, who is an employee of yours?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And yourself?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And \$100,000 worth of stock was authorized, and the corporation was to begin business when \$1,000 had been subscribed, is that right?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. And that amount was subscribed, and you started doing business?

Mr. PELLEY. Oh, no; the amount wasn't subscribed.

Mr. BARKER. \$1,000 was subscribed?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And then you started doing business under this charter?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And that concern is still doing business?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. VOORHIS. What concern is that?

Mr. BARKER. The Skyland Press.

Mr. PELLEY. That is our printing concern.

Mr. BARKER. This Skyland Press is located in a building down in Asheville which was formerly the Biltmore in that bank building?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. You purchased that building for \$20,000 from the Carolina Realty Co. at Richmond, Va.?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And the deed is in your name personally?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And your home in Asheville is in the name of your wife?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. But you also signed the deed of trust given to the same concern?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. For the house?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Now, this incorporation of the Silver Shirt Legion in Delaware. The Silver Shirt Legion is still——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barker, I want to see you for a moment. (Discussion off the record.)

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Pelley, during the last 18 months you have deposited about \$65,000 in the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. in the name of the Skyland Press?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. And you have cashed at the post-office window in Asheville, N. C., about \$31,500 worth of money orders in the last 18 months?

Mr. PELLEY. \$100,000 in the last 18 months?

Mr. BARKER. \$31,500?

Mr. PELLEY. You mean the sum total of them is \$100,000?

Mr. BARKER. No. I say in the last 18 months you have cashed at the post-office window in Asheville, from September 1937 up until July 1939, you have cashed over \$30,000 worth of money orders?

Mr. PELLEY. That is 2 years?

Mr. BARKER. Approximately.

Mr. PELLEY. That is probably correct. If it is on record there at the post office, that is correct.

Mr. BARKER. And you deposited in the Wachovia Bank & Trust Co. the sum of approximately \$32,000?

Mr. PELLEY. There may be a very serious cross check there. That may be the same money.

Mr. BARKER. No. I checked the deposits of cash, Mr. Pelley, and the deposits of cash in your bank account amounted to approximately \$21,000.

Mr. PELLEY. Nevertheless, that is where it would come from.

Mr. BARKER. Where did this \$31,000 worth of money orders that you cashed, where did it go?

Mr. PELLEY. It went to the payment of bills, all of which is recorded to the satisfaction of the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Mr. BARKER. Now, a word about that. Haven't you signed a waiver with the Bureau of Internal Revenue to assess you with any back taxes you owe, plus interest and taxes, and waived the statute of limitations?

Mr. PELLEY. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Haven't you signed a waiver and told them you would get your wife to sign a waiver?

Mr. PELLEY. I haven't signed it. I have it in my possession at the present time. I haven't signed it.

Mr. THOMAS. That doesn't answer the question. Did you tell them you would sign it?

Mr. PELLEY. Under advice of counsel that it was the proper thing to do, yes; if that is the proper thing to do, Mr. Thomas.

Mr. THOMAS. Then you did tell them you would sign it?

Mr. PELLEY. But I don't understand what I am getting into here. I wish I could have a little enlightenment on it. In other words, there is no attempt to evade——

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. I want to ask you a question, Mr. Barker. In the conduct of your investigation of the financial transactions of Mr. Pelley, the legion and his associated activities, were you able to ascertain the names of any parties or groups or organizations that might have been contributing any sums of money to him?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir. There is one question I would like to ask about that, Mr. Pelley. Mr. George B. Fisher, of 420 Lexington Avenue, New York, has sent you considerable sums from time to time?

Mr. PELLEY. I testified this morning his gifts over 4 years have been approximately \$20,000, including the money that went on to help purchase this building here, which is not accounted for yet, in 1939.

Mr. BARKER. Now, those were gifts in addition to what Miss Sarah C. Scott sent you?

Mr. PELLEY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Well, have you got any other people who have contributed any similar sums?

Mr. PELLEY. No; not anything like that.

Mr. BARKER. What is the total membership of the legion right at this time?

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. He testified to that. Approximately 25,000 memberships signed by him over a period of 7 years.

Mr. PELLEY. Mr. Chairman, please——

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Just a moment. That question can be withdrawn for the reason he has already testified to that.

Mr. BARKER. I will withdraw the question.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Have you concluded on that?

Mr. PELLEY. He has asked me a question and I haven't had a chance to answer. He asked me what became of that money, and that is awfully important, because it looks as though I took this money and put it in my pocket and ran wild with it.

Mr. BARKER. You said you used the money in the conduct of your business.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. In the conduct of your business, paying bills and expenses and carrying on your work.

Mr. PELLEY. All right.

Mr. CASEY. Why did you conduct that part of your business on a cash basis?

Mr. PELLEY. Which part, Mr. Casey?

Mr. CASEY. The \$30,000 part.

Mr. PELLEY. People send in to me—if you could understand the nature of our remittances—they send in large amounts in the accumulate by post-office money orders. We have the habit of going up to the bank every morning and cashing our post-office money orders and using those as, we might say, a petty cash fund account. Sometimes we put it in the bank, if the bank account is low; other times we use it as cash on the voucher system. Does that answer your question?

Mr. CASEY. The \$30,000 over a period of 2 years was petty cash?

Mr. PELLEY. Yes; it amounts to that.

Mr. VOORHIS. One question, Mr. Chairman.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did the Silver Shirt Legion members do any—do they pay dues now, Mr. Pelley?

Mr. PELLEY. No; they do not, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. They did formerly?

Mr. PELLEY. They did the first 3 or 4 months, and then we were accused of running a membership racket, and to drop that stigma I dropped that some time ago when I made the ruling that people come into the legion for nothing if they had no money to pay their way in or help out. In other words, it made no difference, if a man was qualified; he had the right to come in whether he had \$10 in his pocket or \$1,000.

Mr. VOORHIS. So at present how much would you estimate is actually paid in by members?

Mr. PELLEY. The G-men—the F. B. I. and I went over that, and we found it was \$637 for last year.

Mr. CASEY. Have you also got the addresses of the members of the Silver Shirt Legion? Do you have their addresses?

Mr. PELLEY. No. I testified here at the opening day that I don't carry a roster of the Silver Legion.

Mr. CASEY. You have no membership list?

Mr. PELLEY. I have no membership list; no, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Is there any requisite that they be subscribers to any of these pamphlets?

Mr. PELLEY. No; there is no requisite at all. I simply want people interested in the work; good, patriotic, clean Americans and Christians. There it begins and stands. If that is un-American, I stand convicted.

Mr. CASEY. That is all.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Any other questions?

Mr. VOORHIS. No.

Mr. THOMAS. No.

The ACTING CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pelley, the record of your testimony before this committee shows that you have frankly and unblushingly indulged in frequent praise, defense, and emulation of Hitler. I quote to you a passage of your testimony:

Mr. STARNES. You purport here to quote with approval \* \* \* the work of Hitler.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

Mr. STARNES. And his manner of controlling Germany.

Mr. PELLEY. Right.

That is a fair sample of the several statements which you have made to this committee.

Furthermore, in close connection with your praise and declared emulation of Hitler, you have said that your organization, the Silver Legion of America, has envisaged the possibility and the probability that citizens of your persuasion "might have to take up arms" against a menace which I want to state emphatically is the creature of your imagination, and in imaging this menace you have cruelly maligned a great race which numbers several millions of our citizens. You have endorsed methods of forcible segregation against this race in plainest

violation of the simplest rudiments of Americanism. You have declared that vigilante action is, in your mind, not at all an un-American principle, despite the fact that vigilantism on any significant scale would completely undermine the foundations of orderly and constitutional government.

You have identified the aims of your Silver Legion with those of the National Socialist Party of Germany by declaring:

I feel exactly as the Nazi party in Germany felt in regard to Germany, regarding the Jewish element in our population; yes, sir.

In response to a question by the gentleman from Massachusetts, who asked you if you are anti-Semitic, you declared:

I would call myself very much so, Mr. Casey.

You have admitted the fact that you have reprinted in your publications Nazi material from the World Service. This committee has in its possession numerous examples of your republication of this scurrilous propaganda.

In other words, you have by your own mouth established all the most serious charges which the previous testimony before this committee has leveled against yourself and the Silver Legion of America.

We have concluded our examination of you. You are no longer under subpoena. You are at liberty to go. I declare the committee adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 3:45 p. m., the committee adjourned.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

MONDAY, MARCH 25, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES.

*Washington, D. C.*

The Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities met in the caucus room of the House Office Building, Washington, D. C., at 10 p. m., the Honorable Martin Dies, chairman, presiding.

Those present were Martin Dies (presiding), John J. Dempsey, Joe Starnes, Noah M. Mason, J. Parnell Thomas, H. Jerry Voorhis, and Joseph E. Casey.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

This hearing was set for 10 o'clock, and the Chair has waited until a quarter after. The Chair wants to announce that in the future, witnesses who appear before this committee will be expected to be courteous and responsive. That implies that the committee is going to be courteous to every witness; but any witness who appears in the future and undertakes to insult the committee or to volunteer information that is not called for, is going to be held to account.

Through necessity, by reason of the fact that we have no quorum present, the Chair will have to resolve this for the time being into a subcommittee composed of Mr. Dempsey, Mr. Thomas, and the Chair, until we can get a quorum present.

## STATEMENT OF JAMES HULSE DOLSEN, MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dolsen, will you stand and be sworn.  
(Thereupon, Mr. Dolsen was sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lynch, you may proceed with the examination of the witness.

Mr. LYNCH. Will you give us your full name, please?

Mr. DOLSEN. James H. Dolsen.

The CHAIRMAN. We now have a quorum present, and we are now meeting as a full committee.

Mr. LYNCH. And the "H" stands for Hulse, does it not, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And your address, please?

Mr. DOLSEN. 1413 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you resided at that address in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. About over 2 years.

Mr. LYNCH. And before that date where did you reside?

Mr. DOLSEN. Different places in Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you speak a little louder, please; it is difficult to hear.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you resided in Pittsburgh, altogether?

Mr. DOLSEN. From about 1936 on.

Mr. LYNCH. To date?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And prior to 1936 where did you reside?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, in different places.

Mr. LYNCH. Where, primarily?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I was in New York City for about a month.

Mr. LYNCH. In 1936?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Where were you before then?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was abroad.

Mr. LYNCH. Where abroad?

Mr. DOLSEN. In China and in the Soviet Union.

Mr. LYNCH. When were you in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was in China from about 1927 on until about 1931.

Mr. LYNCH. From 1927 to 1931?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And when were you in Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was in Russia about 1931 to 1935.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you recall what part of 1927 you arrived in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I think that that was probably May or June, I believe.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you sure of that year, that it was in 1927?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am quite sure that it was in 1927.

Mr. LYNCH. And what was your occupation while in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was there to be in charge of, or I was editor in Peking, of a Kuo Min Tang national newspaper.

Mr. LYNCH. What was the policy of that newspaper?

Mr. DOLSEN. To support the Kuo Min Tang Party in China.

The CHAIRMAN. What sort of a newspaper was that that you were the editor of?

Mr. DOLSEN. A newspaper that was supporting Kuo Min Tang, that is the Nationalist Party of China, it was the party that is now in control of most of China.

The CHAIRMAN. I see, the National Party, and that was the official organ?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was in Peking.

Mr. LYNCH. That was a Communist Party at that time, was it?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was not.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you attempting to make it a Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you a Communist then?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was.

Mr. LYNCH. You are now?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And what is your party name?

Mr. DOLSEN. My party name is James H. Dolsen.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you been going under that name of James H. Dolsen in the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. All of my life.

Mr. LYNCH. I show you a Communist Party card of the United States, No. 69640, and ask you if that is your book.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is not my book.

Mr. LYNCH. Was that not given to you at the time you were served with a subpoena to appear here before this committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. Did you ask me if it was given?

Mr. LYNCH. I am asking you if it was not given to you, or in your room in your possession at the time that you were served with a subpoena?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. And you were occupying that room exclusively at that time, were you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And that was together with your other papers?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was with some other papers, different papers.

Mr. LYNCH. And you did not have any other Communist Party book there, membership book, did you, except this one?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether there were any others or not.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know whether you had any others or not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I told you that I had this book there, and I do not know if there were any others or not.

Mr. LYNCH. This was your book?

Mr. DOLSEN. I stated it was not my book.

Mr. LYNCH. Whose book is it?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not care to state. It is under the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. LYNCH. I am asking you to state whose book that is.

Mr. DOLSEN. I am stating that I do not know whose book it is.

Mr. LYNCH. You just said a moment ago that you did not care to state. Do you know who it is or not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whose book that is, all I know is that the name is Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mr. LYNCH. When did you get this book?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not care to state that.

Mr. LYNCH. I will ask the Chair to require the witness to state when he received this book. He said that he did not care to state when he received it.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to answer questions, that is a material question, and you will have to answer that question.

Mr. DOLSEN. I object on the ground that it is not material. I am acting as my own attorney in this case, my own counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. What objection do you raise to answering that question?

Mr. DOLSEN. On the ground it is immaterial to this case. I have stated my membership in the Communist Party so that it has nothing to do with it.

The CHAIRMAN. We will hold that in abeyance for a while until you complete your examination, and we will come back to it.

Mr. STARNES. I would like to see it, and I may want to ask a question about it.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you subscribe to the Earl Browder Defense Fund?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did.

Mr. LYNCH. And is that the paster that was put in the book as a result of your subscription?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was not the paster that was put in my book.

Mr. LYNCH. Where is your book?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not care to state.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to answer these questions, that is a material question that is being asked you, and there is no reason why you cannot answer that question.

Mr. DOLSEN. If you please, I have already stated that I am a member of the party, so I insist that it is immaterial. You have on record that I am a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. We will hold that in abeyance until we get through.

**(The membership book referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 1.")**

Mr. LYNCH. Are you paid up in your dues to date in the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have paid up my dues.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you been a member in the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have been a member since it was formed.

Mr. LYNCH. When was that?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was formed as a result of the split in the 1919 Socialist Party Convention in Chicago.

Mr. LYNCH. And you have been an active member since that time?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have been an active member.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you held any position in the party in this country?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have been district organizer.

Mr. LYNCH. Where?

Mr. DOLSEN. In San Francisco.

Mr. LYNCH. When?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was about 1921.

Mr. LYNCH. For how long a period of time were you district organizer there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was district organizer there for about a year or a year and a half.

Mr. LYNCH. What compensation did you receive as such?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I do not recall exactly, but it was not very much.

Mr. LYNCH. Can you say as near as you can what it was?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I could not say except so far as I recall it was three or four dollars a week, about enough to live on.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you have any other employment at the time?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you receive any other compensation from the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not.

Mr. LYNCH. Or any of its affiliates?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not that I recall.

Mr. LYNCH. That is the only time that you ever held any position in the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I have held other positions in the Communist Party.

Mr. LYNCH. What other positions have you held?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am literature agent in the Communist Party in Pittsburgh at the present time.

Mr. LYNCH. For how long a period have you been literature agent?

Mr. DOLSEN. About 4 months.

Mr. LYNCH. Your duties as such are to send literature to various persons who are members of the party in and around Pittsburgh and other locations?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; my duties are to supply literature to branches of the party and to sections of the party.

Mr. LYNCH. Where would they be located?

Mr. DOLSEN. Different parts of western Pennsylvania.

Mr. LYNCH. And what sort of literature do you supply to them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Literature which is officially issued by the Communist Party.

Mr. LYNCH. And you receive compensation for that work?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not.

Mr. LYNCH. How are you employed? Were you ever on the central committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. Or the national committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. Or the control commission?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. How are you employed now?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am not employed.

Mr. LYNCH. How long has it been since you were employed?

Mr. DOLSEN. Since I got discharged from the W. P. A. under the 18 months ruling.

Mr. LYNCH. When was that?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was last September.

Mr. LYNCH. September of 1939?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. And you had been working for the W. P. A. for 18 months prior thereto?

Mr. DOLSEN. More than that, slightly over 2 years.

Mr. LYNCH. And for what was your position with the W. P. A.?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was a teacher on the workers' education project.

Mr. LYNCH. A teacher on the workers' education project?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And those duties required you to do what?

Mr. DOLSEN. Teach groups of trade unionists and unemployed.

Mr. LYNCH. What would you teach them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Whatever they wanted to be taught. I might explain it this way.

Mr. LYNCH. Let me ask you this. Would they make the requests as to what they wished to learn, or would you take and formulate the program?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I will have to, if you will allow me, explain it.

Mr. LYNCH. Answer that question first, if you please.

Mr. DOLSEN. But I have to explain, do you not see, because I was a teacher on a project, and the policy and the methods used on the

project were outlined by the man in charge of the project, and I fitted in with whatever they outlined.

Mr. LYNCH. And the man in charge of the project was who?

Mr. DOLSEN. He was a Mr. Wicker, there was a Mr. Wicker who was in charge of the project for a while, and the present man in charge of the project is, I do not recall his name, but I will recall that.

Mr. BARKER. That is Mr. C. V. Wicker.

Mr. LYNCH. Were any of those persons that you have just mentioned or the persons named who you were able to recall, are they members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever discuss it with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not.

Mr. LYNCH. You never discussed it with them at all?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not discuss with the director of the project what his politics are, nor what party he belongs to, that is not a very wise thing to do.

Mr. LYNCH. How many students would you have under you, Mr. Dolsen, while you would be teaching?

Mr. DOLSEN. If the committee please, I would like to be informed as to what the purpose of all of these questions are. Is this going to be a fishing expedition? I do not see that it has any connection.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dolsen, it is not a question for you to determine whether that has any connection with it. It is your duty to answer these questions, that is your duty to answer these questions.

It certainly is material to find out what you did while you were an instructor on a W. P. A. project, and how many people you were in contact with, and other matters pertinent to that.

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Chairman, if I may ask a question, since I am my own counsel here, and since I am not familiar with all of the details and the regulations of a congressional committee, I would like to know in the first place if I am on trial here for any offense, and secondly I would like to know what my rights are before this committee, if I have any.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not on trial for anything. You are here to answer questions, and to give this committee information. The committee has certain documents that it subpoenaed from you, and in those documents they find certain matters that we want to question you about.

We find, for instance, that for a long period you were an instructor on a W. P. A. project, and we find in your files empty file sheets, or whatever you call them, in which you marked the words "contacts," and various other things, and the contents of these things are all gone, and you had those files with you while you were an instructor on the W. P. A., and naturally we want to find out what the full facts are.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I would like to ask this question. I was served with a subpoena, what Mr. Barker called a subpoena duces tecum, as a result of which he stated that he had the authority to bring me here before a meeting of this committee, and that he had authority to take those matters which were records of the Communist Party, is that correct?

The CHAIRMAN. That is correct.

Mr. DOLSEN. Now, I would like to call the attention of this committee to the fact that Mr. Barker took matters which I think with hardly a single exception had nothing to do with the Communist Party, and were not records of the Communist Party, and I would like to have these produced and I can identify them, that they have nothing whatsoever to do with the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be developed in the course of the examination. We have the documents here, and they speak for themselves. Let us proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. How many students would you have, Mr. Dolsen.

Mr. DOLSEN. I have had different numbers of students, some of the classes were very small and some were fairly large.

Mr. LYNCH. Give us an approximate average of students.

Mr. DOLSEN. About 6 or 7, perhaps, to 15 or sixteen.

Mr. LYNCH. Would you be with those persons every day, teaching them?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. How often?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, these classes ran according to a schedule that was arranged by the director of the project, generally the class met once a week, for perhaps an hour, between an hour and 2 hours, sometimes a little bit longer.

Mr. LYNCH. Your particular subject was what?

Mr. DOLSEN. My responsibility was to teach whatever I was assigned to teach that was within what was considered the scope of workers' education, the scope of workers' education including such matters as parliamentary law, trade-union history, the history of the American labor movement, and matters of that kind, although if a group of workers asked for any general subject we were supposed to be able to go out and teach it. Some of them were discussion groups, for example.

Mr. LYNCH. And the question of communism came up during those discussions, did they not?

Mr. DOLSEN. They did not, as a subject of any class.

Mr. LYNCH. Did they come up as a subject for consideration between you and any of the students?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was not my policy to teach communism in the class.

Mr. LYNCH. I did not ask you what your policy was, I am asking you whether the question came up between you and the students.

Mr. DOLSEN. Sometimes a student would ask a question about communism.

Mr. LYNCH. You would discuss it with him?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would not.

Mr. LYNCH. Would you answer his question?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would tell him that if he wanted to find out about communism, he could go to the library and get books on communism.

Mr. LYNCH. Would you refer and recommend the kind of books that he would read?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would not.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever recommended them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Except this, that if he was interested he could go to the Communist Party and get books to read.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you tell them where he could go and get those books?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not.

Mr. MASON. I am somewhat confused with his duties or responsibilities as a relief worker. Do I understand that he was required or it was his duty or that he earned his money on this relief project as a teacher; he was employed in that capacity?

Mr. LYNCH. That is correct, as I understand it.

Mr. MASON. In that capacity he claims that he was required to teach the theory and practices of trade-unionism?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. That was among the subjects. There were other subjects, but they were along trade-union lines.

Mr. LYNCH. What were the other subjects?

Mr. DOLAN. The history of the American labor movement.

Mr. LYNCH. What else?

Mr. DOLSEN. Parliamentary law.

Mr. LYNCH. Anything else?

Mr. DOLSEN. Economics, but I was not one of the teachers on economics, I had nothing to do with that.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you a teacher on parliamentary law?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. You are a lawyer?

Mr. DOLSEN. I had a year in law school.

Mr. LYNCH. Where?

Mr. DOLSEN. Northwestern University.

Mr. LYNCH. When?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was about 1914, I think.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you also a teacher over in Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. I taught a workers group there in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. DOLSEN. I taught a group of workers in Russia?

Mr. LYNCH. What were you teaching them?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was teaching on the American labor history.

Mr. LYNCH. You speak Russian?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes. I could at one time.

Mr. LYNCH. That was from 1931 to 1935?

Mr. DOLSEN. About that time.

The CHAIRMAN. From 1931 to 1935 you were an instructor in Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I was not an instructor.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I am trying to get.

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I was in Russia at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. How were you earning your living while you were there?

Mr. DOLSEN. Most of the time I was in what they call the International Red Aid.

The CHAIRMAN. And you taught some of the workers the American labor movement, the history of the American labor movement?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you teach them, at regular classes that they had?

Mr. DOLSEN. An evening group; it was an evening class.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a graduate of a university, are you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I had 2 years in Beloit College, in Wisconsin.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you not go to some other college?

Mr. DOLSEN. I stated that I had a year in Northwestern University law school, in Chicago.

The CHAIRMAN. You came back to this country in 1935?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. The International Labor Defense is a section of the Red Aid, is it not, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I believe it is a fraternal affiliate, yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And were you connected with any particular university or school over in Russia while you were teaching?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Who made the assignments for you?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, the International Red Aid itself, that is, in other words, you see, if a group of workers, Russian workers, wanted to learn something about the American labor movement, they would request the organization to supply them with a teacher, and since I was an American and had been active in the American labor movement, naturally I was sent several times for that purpose.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you ever a labor organizer in this country?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not a labor organizer in the trade union sense, that is of organizing a labor union as such.

Mr. LYNCH. In what sense were you an organizer?

Mr. DOLSEN. In that I was an organizer in the Communist movement, and in the old Socialist Party.

Mr. LYNCH. And you refer to the labor movement and the Communist movement together, regarding them as one?

Mr. DOLSEN. They are not synonymous, I certainly do not regard them as synonymous.

Mr. LYNCH. In what sense would you say that you were a labor organizer?

Mr. DOLSEN. In the sense that I was since my membership in the Socialist Party in 1909, I was always a very active member of the Socialist Party, and in my membership in the Communist Party since 1919 I was always an active member in the Communist Party.

Mr. LYNCH. I am asking you about your association with the labor movement, what qualifications did you have to teach Russians the American labor movement?

Mr. DOLSEN. Because I had taught the history of the American labor movement in this country, and I had taken a part in it.

Mr. LYNCH. Where had you taken part, or where had you taught the history of the American labor movement in this country?

Mr. DOLSEN. In San Francisco.

Mr. LYNCH. What years?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was the same period when I was a Communist organizer there, 1920 to 1921.

Mr. LYNCH. You were working both together, as a Communist organizer and lecturer in the labor movement in San Francisco?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would not say that I was working them together, I gave lectures on the American labor movement and I was a Communist organizer at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you attempt to organize the persons that you were coming in contact with in the labor movement, they are the only people you would come in contact with, is that not so?

Mr. DOLSEN. At those classes?

Mr. LYNCH. What unions did you ever work in here, in this country?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I have been a member of the office workers' union.

Mr. LYNCH. What else?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was a member of the teachers' union.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know the initials, T. U. U. L., and T. U. E. L.?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do.

Mr. LYNCH. What are they?

Mr. DOLSEN. The T. U. U. L. is the Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you ever affiliated with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was never affiliated with them.

Mr. LYNCH. And how about the T. U. E. L.?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is the Trade Union Educational League.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you ever affiliated with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. You never had any contact with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I did.

Mr. LYNCH. What was your contact with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. I knew some of the workers in them.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever discuss their movement with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Sure, I did.

Mr. LYNCH. And you assisted them whenever you could?

Mr. DOLSEN. I discuss it with them.

Mr. LYNCH. Who paid you while you were in Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. The International Red Aid.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that controlled by the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, it all depends upon what you mean by control.

Mr. LYNCH. You know what that word means in its ordinary sense?

Mr. DOLSEN. Let me explain how the International Red Aid is formed, and then you will understand. The International Red Aid, for instance, we have the American Labor Defense in this country, which was a fraternal affiliate in this country, and in France there would be another affiliate, and in England, and so forth, and the American Labor Defense, and in other countries, and that was the central organization.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, let me clarify that, you had in this country the International Labor Defense, and you had a similar organization in France and in England and all of them were affiliated with the International Red Aid in Moscow, and they were sections of the International Red Aid in Moscow, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. They were sections in the same manner that you have an International Chamber of Commerce, I think it meets in Rome, and the American Chamber of Commerce has a relationship to that, and so do all of the other chambers of commerce as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. What you did was to represent the International Labor Defense of the United States on the International Red Aid in Moscow?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. What pay did you receive?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I was paid in rubles, I think about 150 rubles.

Mr. LYNCH. Corresponding to how many dollars?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know, because there is no way that you can compare them.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that a good salary in Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. It is considered about a medium salary.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you engaged in that work all the time that you were in Russia from 1931 to 1935?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you have any other work that you did there or any other contacts that you made?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you in contact with the leaders of the Communist Party there during that period of time?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I knew some of the individuals, some of the individual lower-grade leaders, as you might call them.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you discuss with them the movement of the Communist Party in this country? That is what efforts were being made to push it in this country?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not discuss it with them because my knowledge of Russian was not good enough so that I could discuss such matters.

Mr. LYNCH. Some of those fellows speak English, do they not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, but they did not discuss those matters with me.

Mr. LYNCH. Let us go to China. You were there from 1927 to 1931?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. What other duties did you have besides this connection with this paper?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was the representative of the International Red Aid in China.

Mr. LYNCH. And were you paid by Russia during that period of time?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was paid by the International Red Aid.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the International Red Aid of the United States, or the Moscow association? Which one paid you?

Mr. DOLSEN. You see, the International Red Aid is the organization which has its headquarters in Moscow, and that is the central body of all of these others, you see, and that was the one which paid me.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I wanted to know.

Mr. LYNCH. Who were you associated with in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was associated with a number of people.

Mr. LYNCH. Who.

Mr. DOLSEN. I was associated with a couple of people named Prohm, in Peking.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know their first names?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have forgotten what their first name was, it was a woman and her husband.

Mr. LYNCH. Were they Americans?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that they were Americans.

Mr. LYNCH. Was she a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, not that I know of.

Mr. LYNCH. Was he?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, he was not.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know?

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever read Vincent Sheean's Personal History, in which this woman was discussed?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never read it, I only saw one paragraph where I think my name was mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not know that she was discussed in there as an outstanding Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know, because as I said I did not read the book.

The CHAIRMAN. You just saw the paragraph in which your name was mentioned?

Mr. DOLSEN. My attention was called to it.

The CHAIRMAN. Who called your attention to it?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have forgotten.

Mr. LYNCH. Who else were you associated with in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was associated with the representative of the Chinese Red Aid.

Mr. LYNCH. I mean what Americans were you there associated with?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I was not particularly associated with any Americans there.

Mr. LYNCH. I do not care about "particularly." What Americans were you associated with there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know what Americans; I do not know that I was associated with any.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you meet any there to discuss communism with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, sir; I did not discuss communism with anybody there at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you know any American Communists there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not think so.

Mr. LYNCH. Can you give us the name of any Americans that you did know in Peking?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; because I did not associate with them.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know a party by the name of Grace Hutchins?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know her; I know who she is.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever talk with her?

Mr. DOLSEN. I believe that I did at one time, but I did not know who it was.

Mr. LYNCH. You mean to say that you talked with people you do not know who they are?

Mr. DOLSEN. At that time I did not know who she was.

Mr. LYNCH. You mean the time that you talked with her in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; as a matter of fact I did not have any recollection but she wrote me afterward that she had met me.

Mr. LYNCH. I show you the letter on the stationery of the Labor Research Association, signed by Grace Hutchins, and ask you if you received that?

Mr. DOLAN. That is right; I did.

Mr. LYNCH. I wish to read this into the record.

Mr. DOLSEN. I would like to state at this time in regard to that, I have personally no recollection of it.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, I will ask you about that in a moment.

This is on the stationery of the Labor Research Association, 8 East Eleventh Street, New York City, dated January 15, 1940. It is addressed to James H. Dolsen, 1413 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dear Friend:

MR. DOLSEN. Just before he reads that letter, I would like to object to it.

The CHAIRMAN. They are going to ask you some questions about it.

MR. DOLSEN. But he had the authority under the subpoena only to bring certain records.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to comply with the rules of the committee. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

We are very much interested in your letter of January 12, and in the good use you are able to make of the article on foreign holdings in Finland from our *Economic Notes*. Do you remember Anne Rochester and me in Peking in 1926? You helped us so much to make contact with labor men and women in China that we are only too glad to make the small return of seeing that you get *Economic Notes* regularly. Some of the friends from Pittsburgh told us they knew you there, and it was good to know that you are still active. Do let us hear from you from time to time.

With appreciation for all you did in helping us along our way.

Fraternally,

GRACE HUTCHINS,

*Labor Research Association.*

I will ask you if you know Anne Rochester?

MR. DOLSEN. I did not.

MR. LYNCH. And did you write to Grace Hutchins?

MR. DOLSEN. I did. Pardon me, I did not write to Grace Hutchins.

MR. LYNCH. When she says here, "We are very much interested in your letter of January 12," what was she referring to?

MR. DOLSEN. She was referring to a letter which I had sent to *Economic Notes*, enclosing a clipping from a Pittsburgh newspaper which contained a letter I had written in regard to the Finnish situation, and wherein the editor of the Pittsburgh Press had printed a reference to the *Economic Notes*, or *Labor Notes*, I forget which it was, and I sent this letter to them suggesting that perhaps under the circumstances they would be willing to place me on a list of subscribers for their publication.

MR. LYNCH. That letter was addressed to Grace Hutchins?

MR. DOLSEN. It was not.

MR. LYNCH. It was addressed to Labor Research Association?

MR. DOLSEN. That is right.

MR. LYNCH. Did this letter of Grace Hutchins when received by you refresh your recollection of your contact and association with them in China?

MR. DOLSEN. It did not.

MR. LYNCH. And you do not know what she was referring to when she said you were of such great assistance to them in China helping them along their way?

MR. DOLSEN. I do not recall it at all, and in fact I remarked to somebody else that I did not know or had not met her so far as I know, and did not know what she was talking about.

MR. LYNCH. Who did you remark that to?

MR. DOLSEN. I do not care to state that.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you help anybody make labor contacts while you were in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not that I know of.

Mr. LYNCH. And you do not recall now when she says that you were helping to make contacts with labor men and women in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not recall.

Mr. LYNCH. Your letter of January 12 was a letter, as I understand it, a general letter, written to one of the newspapers in which you protested the aid to Finland, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. It is among the material which I believe that Mr. Barker took there, it was in that along the side there.

Mr. LYNCH. I am asking you whether the letter of January 12 referred to in Miss Hutchins' letter is a letter by you to a newspaper in which you protested aid given to Finland?

Mr. DOLSEN. Absolutely.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know now whether or not these two women, Anne Rochester and Miss Hutchins, are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not.

Mr. LYNCH. Is the Labor Research Association affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. It is not, to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. LYNCH. It has the same objects, does it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. It has not.

Mr. LYNCH. What is the object of the Labor Research Association?

Mr. DOLSEN. You will have to ask them.

Mr. LYNCH. You do not know?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, you know in reading the literature of the Communist Party that the name of Anne Rochester and Grace Hutchins are frequently mentioned?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know that, because I had not noticed it.

Mr. LYNCH. You had never heard of them before until you received this letter?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is not what I said.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever hear of them before?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. You know of them to be Communists?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not.

Mr. LYNCH. In what relation or what respect do you know them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Anne Rochester wrote a book called Rulers of America.

Mr. LYNCH. And Grace Hutchins did what?

Mr. DOLSEN. She is one of the editors of that Research Association.

Mr. LYNCH. That is the way you know them?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. The Rulers of America, that is communistic in its tendencies or not?

Mr. DOLSEN. It is not. The Rulers of America, if you wish me to explain it, is a list of those families and those individuals who run and own this country, because they are the billionaires of the country, Morgan and the rest of that outfit.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, was not Grace Hutchins the treasurer of the Communist Party campaign in 1936?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know.

Mr. LYNCH. You are active in politics, are you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Somewhat.

Mr. LYNCH. You are running now at the present time to be a member of the legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, are you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is your campaign manager?

Mr. DOLSEN. What is that?

Mr. LYNCH. Who is your campaign manager?

Mr. DOLSEN. My campaign manager is Ben Careathers.

Mr. LYNCH. And his address?

Mr. DOLSEN. 305 Seventh Avenue, Pittsburgh.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you also attempting to run for the United States Senate or any United States office?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have not had that honor yet.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you now or have you been associated or affiliated with the International Workers Order?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am a member of the International Workers Order.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you now associated with or a member of or in any way connected with the International Labor Defense?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am not.

Mr. LYNCH. The same question with relation to the Workers Alliance?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am a member of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. LYNCH. The same question, only it would be "were," as to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. The same question with regard to the Consumers Union?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. The same question with regard to Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. The same question with regard to the Spanish refugees-relief campaign?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You never had any part—did you ever take any part directly or indirectly with regard to the Spanish relief campaign?

Mr. DOLSEN. I made a donation to them.

Mr. LYNCH. How much?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think it was 50 cents or something.

Mr. LYNCH. How about the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade?

Mr. DOLSEN. I made a donation to them.

Mr. LYNCH. How about New America?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. How about the Y. A. N. C. Club of Pittsburgh, are you a member of that?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never heard of such a club.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you secretary of the Workers' Alliance of Alleghany County?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was.

Mr. LYNCH. When were you?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was secretary-treasurer until about 6 months ago.

Mr. LYNCH. And how long did you hold that position?

Mr. DOLSEN. About 2½ years.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know Nicholas Dozenberg?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that I know him.

Mr. LYNCH. You know that you know him, do you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I beg your pardon, I stated that I thought that I knew him.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you know him?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that I knew him in the Daily Worker in Chicago years ago.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you not know him in Chicago, also?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. What is that?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I did not.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever see him in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not that I remember.

Mr. LYNCH. And how long has it been since you have seen or talked to Mr. Dozenberg?

Mr. DOLSEN. That has been many years, all that I have a recollection of is his having been business manager of the Daily Worker in Chicago, it must have been 1923 or 1924.

Mr. LYNCH. Are any members of your family engaged in communistic work?

Mr. DOLSEN. They are not, so far as I know, because I have been separated from them for many years.

Mr. LYNCH. By the way, do you not have a sister that lives in Bend, Oreg.?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that not the same place where Dozenberg was captured and arrested?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is where it was, according to the newspapers he was.

Mr. LYNCH. That is what?

Mr. DOLSEN. According to the newspapers.

Mr. LYNCH. That is a very small town?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know, I never was there.

Mr. LYNCH. Your sister's full name is what?

Mr. DOLSEN. Harriet Vandenberg, I believe that is the name of her husband.

Mr. LYNCH. And you have some cousins who are affiliated with the Communist organization.

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know that I have got any cousins.

Mr. LYNCH. You do not know that you have got any cousins?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not that I know of.

Mr. LYNCH. You hold a membership certificate in the International Workers Order, Inc.?

Mr. DOLSEN. Do I hold a membership certificate in it?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. No, I am a member of it, I do not hold any membership certificate.

Mr. LYNCH. What is that Workers Order, the International Workers Order?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is a fraternal insurance society.

Mr. LYNCH. And you hold a policy in that?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. For how much?

Mr. DOLSEN. \$2,000. I think.

Mr. LYNCH. And when did you take that out, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I took that out about 1933 or 1934.

Mr. LYNCH. That is it, is it not, made out to James Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And this certificate that is the membership certificate, is it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. It says here, "The above conditions complied with, the said International Workers Order, Inc., hereby promises to bind itself to pay——"

Mr. DOLSEN. I insist on my rights before this committee, this has nothing to do with the Communist Party, and this committee has no authority under the subpoena to take it.

I refuse to testify any further on that ground, I am speaking as my attorney and as my counsel now, and I pointblank refuse, that has nothing to do with the Communist Party, and your subpoena stated the records of the Communist Party, and I object to this, and I want to know if I am going to have any rights before this committee or not.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that if he refuses to answer that, the matter be referred to the district attorney's office for appropriate procedure under the statute, where a witness is called before a committee and refuses to answer, the chairman of the committee can refer the matter to the district attorney's office for appropriate action in the courts.

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to know, and again I ask you, and I asked you previously, if I have any rights before this committee, and as I understand it a committee of this kind has got authority to question regarding the matters on a subpoena or matter brought in regard to the subpoena, and this was seized under a subpoena under which such a seizure was not allowed.

That was not specified, and the United States law specifies that a subpoena shall state in detail what is to be seized, and Mr. Barker had no right to take that out of my room, any more than any other personal possession.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you object to him taking it out?

Mr. DOLSEN. I told him that I objected to everything that they did take out of that room, which included the taking out of this. Mr. Barker stated that he was going to take this before your committee, that I would be with these documents, and that before a single document was opened up or anything taken out, that he would have a list compiled of everything that was taken in my presence, and that was not done, and this has nothing to do with the Communist Party, or the records of the Communist Party, and I object to it.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, on this International Workers Order——

Mr. DOLSEN. I still object. That is not a record of the Communist Party, and I refuse to testify further. I am acting as my own counsel.

The CHAIRMAN. You have stated your objection, now be silent.

Do you want me to hold you in contempt, or not?

Mr. DOLSEN. You are the chairman of the committee, and I have asked you, as I am representing myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The International Workers Order has been held by this committee to be controlled by the Communist Party, and it is a material matter to inquire into.

Mr. DOLSEN. I would like to ask the chairman when a court ever held the Workers Order to be a Communist organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse point blank to answer questions regarding that.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you not make Earl Browder a beneficiary and state that he was a cousin of yours in this policy?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer the question.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is Max Bedacht?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer any questions about that.

Mr. THOMAS. I think that the witness should be held in contempt. I think that we have had enough of this, and there is no reason in the world why this witness or any other witness should come before a congressional committee and act the way this man has, and I move that this witness be held in contempt.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us take that under advisement; we have some material questions here.

Mr. THOMAS. If he carries on the way he has been, I am going to move formally.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you not write a letter, Mr. Dolsen, in February of 1937, addressed to William Z. Foster? You know Mr. Foster, do you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer, and I insist on the protection of my constitutional rights before this committee.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you not write a letter to Mr. Foster in which this membership certificate was identified by number, and by date, and in which you changed the beneficiary to the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse on the same grounds as previously, on the grounds of my constitutional rights.

Mr. CASEY. I think that the witness should be advised that there is nothing involving constitutional rights to ask if you wrote a letter to an individual. I am just advising you.

Mr. DOLSEN. In this particular connection, there is.

Mr. CASEY. You are anticipating something, but in this question I just advise you that there is nothing involving your constitutional rights.

Mr. DOLSEN. I beg your pardon, I think that you are Mr. Casey?

Mr. CASEY. Yes, I am.

Mr. DOLSEN. I beg your pardon, but what I have objected to is the introduction of this whole document in this case as any matter relevant for this committee's consideration, and therefore I object to any questions in connection with that matter, and I am standing on my constitutional rights representing myself, as my own attorney in this particular case.

Mr. LYNCH. I submit that he should state whether or not he is standing upon his constitutional rights in that the answer might tend to incriminate him.

Mr. STARNES. That is the only constitutional right he has.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the grounds that you base your objection on?

Mr. DOLSEN. I base my objections on the grounds that this committee under the subpoena which was served upon me, seized certain documents which that subpoena did not entitle any representative of this committee to seize, and that that is one of those documents, and therefore on that ground, on the ground of my constitutional rights, I refuse to answer any questions connected with that document.

Mr. LYNCH. I submit that he should state whether or not it tends to incriminate him of a criminal offense, and otherwise he doesn't have any rights to refuse to answer.

Mr. STARNES. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you make the statement that as the grounds for the constitutional rights, that the answer of the question may tend to incriminate you?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to make any statement on that matter, also, on the same ground of my constitutional rights. I have got some.

Mr. THOMAS. I think that we should hold him in contempt. There is no reason in the world why we should have a witness come before us and treat a congressional committee the way this witness has, and I think the time has come when he should be held in contempt, and I so move.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us carry that along for a while. Proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. I will show you certain papers, and ask you whether or not they were some of your lecture notes that you used when you were working on the W. P. A., about which you have already testified to?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. The answer is "Yes"?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. I wish to have these marked, not to put in the entire record, Mr. Chairman, but just to be identified and I want to read this.

Mr. DOLSEN. I would like to ask a question in that connection.

(The document referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 2.")

Mr. LYNCH. I wish to just refer to a part of one of these papers and read it into the record.

Mr. DOLSEN. I think, just a minute, I have the right to appeal to the chairman. Just a minute.

The CHAIRMAN. You object to that?

Mr. DOLSEN. He is acting as a prosecutor, and what I object to is all of this material is irrelevant, and I do not know what the rules of your committee are, but if I were in court I could object to these on these grounds, and I do not see why I have not got some rights here.

Mr. STARNES. Now, Mr. Chairman, this committee tries no one, and this committee has no power of trial, and this witness nor any other witness is here on trial, and the only reasonable grounds, and the only legal grounds that any witness can object to answering a question appearing before this committee is that it might tend to incriminate him or connect him with some criminal offense. That is the only grounds of objection that he can put up.

This witness or no other witness is in any sense on trial, and for that reason I insist that orderly procedure be carried out here. This witness is not here to ask questions, but to answer them.

The CHAIRMAN. The point is well taken. Proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. According to page 1 here, Mr. Dolsen, it seems—

Mr. DOLSEN. Just a minute, Mr. Chairman. I want to ask a question. When I object to these things, does that mean that that is going to be entered on your records, so that in case I want to bring this matter into court on my constitutional rights, for example, that I can do it?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; it is all in the record.

Mr. DOLSEN. Then I desire to have recorded in your records here that I object to all of this matter.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already stated that. The objection is overruled.

Mr. LYNCH. You have under the heading of "B" on Lecture No. 1, the First International

Working class composition (labor) (class-struggle basis).

1. Object, *not peace, pacifism, but war*, overthrow of common enemy and cause of war—capitalism: Aim to organize the class war throughout the world and to utilize other wars for purposes of advancing the overthrow of capitalism transforming imperialistic wars into civil wars, supporting wars of self-defense by colonial or semi-colonial peoples (China), supporting suppression of fascist uprisings in Democratic countries (Spain).

Did you know a Michael Borodin in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I met him several times.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever work with him?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not work with him.

Mr. LYNCH. Is he a Russian Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think he is.

Mr. LYNCH. And were you associated with him during your stay in China, in working with Chiang-Kai-shek?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not have that honor.

Mr. LYNCH. You did see Borodin in China, did you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I saw him several times from a distance.

Mr. LYNCH. You talked to him?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not talk to him because he talks Russian and I don't think he talks English. Oh, yes; he does, too. I did, too. I think that I did meet him several times there.

Mr. LYNCH. Is he not from Chicago?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know. I heard he was.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you not recall now that you did talk to him while you were in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I might have talked to him several times.

Mr. LYNCH. And he was interested in the Communist movement in China at the time, wasn't he?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; he certainly was interested in it.

Mr. LYNCH. And you knew that, did you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And you were interested in the Communist movement in China at the time?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was all over the world.

Mr. LYNCH. And so you had a mutual interest, did you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. In that respect.

Mr. LYNCH. And having a mutual interest, you would necessarily confer with each other and talk with each other about that, would you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, you see, a private does not talk to the general very often.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is the general, he or you?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I wasn't the general.

Mr. LYNCH. Was he regarded as a general by you?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, he was one of the upper layers, one of the upper people.

Mr. LYNCH. Would you report to him or who would you report to when you were there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I reported directly to the International Red Aid.

Mr. LYNCH. And do you know whether he ever received copies of your reports?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Were your reports made in writing?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you keep copies of those reports?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you have copies existing?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; not that I know of.

Mr. LYNCH. You have other papers, of course, in your room, do you not, which were not taken or brought here before this committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have a library. It was not all taken here, and I don't know what was taken.

Mr. LYNCH. You were there when it was taken, were you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was busy packing up. I did not know how long my stay might be here in your city.

Mr. LYNCH. By the way, you were indicted while you were active in California, were you not, for a criminal offense?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was indicted under the California criminal syndicalism law.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you convicted?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you tried?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was tried twice. I was tried once in 1920, and a 5 weeks' trial where I defended myself, and after the jury was out for 86 hours they were discharged, deadlocked 6 to 6; and I was tried a year and a half afterward after the Pennsylvania State Legislature changed the criminal procedures law, so that the judge had the right to decide whether defendants should be tried separately or together, and I, together with four others, was tried again in a 6 weeks' trial, and I defended them all, and the jury was deadlocked 7 to 5, and 2 months afterward the district attorney went and had all of the cases dismissed.

Mr. LYNCH. Then you were also later indicted. Were you ever tried any other time for any criminal offense?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; none.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you not arrested in Gary, Ind., in August of 1917?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was arrested during the World War three or four times for speaking against the war.

Mr. LYNCH. Because of your remarks relative to the selective draft?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I don't think that I spoke particularly about the selective draft.

Mr. LYNCH. You were indicted there, were you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. You were just arrested?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; and I was arrested in Gary, Ind., and was held about 3 or 4 days, as I remember, on the charge of organizing a meeting against the United States participation in the World War.

Mr. LYNCH. And you were released?

Mr. DOLSEN. Released; that is right.

Mr. LYNCH. This policy of insurance which you have made payable to the Communist Party.

Mr. DOLSEN. That I have already stated I object to making.

Mr. LYNCH. You refuse to answer any questions with regard to that?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And your refusal to answer is not based upon the fact that it would tend to incriminate you as a criminal offense?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't care to answer that question.

Mr. STARNES. I suggest that the counsel get away from that particular document at this time, and we will return to it later.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know William Weiner?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that I have seen him several times. I don't know him personally.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, is he a Communist of such note that you would know of him by reputation?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, he is the secretary-treasurer, I believe, of the Communist Party.

Mr. LYNCH. Secretary-treasurer of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And has been for some time?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know how long.

Mr. LYNCH. I wish to state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that William Weiner, who has just been identified, is also the national chairman of the International Workers Order Certificate which was referred to a moment ago. [To the witness:]

Mr. Dolsen, I will show you a copy, or what purports to be a copy, of a personal application for Works Progress Administration, Pennsylvania, and ask you if that is your name, James H. Dolsen, and if you signed it?

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I object to any answers on this point on the ground this has nothing to do with the Communist Party or anything that I was brought here for.

Mr. LYNCH. Of course, Mr. Chairman, he is not the one who decides that question, whether it has anything to do with it.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer any question?

Mr. DOLSEN. On my constitutional grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Identify the document for the sake of the record, so that we may have it before us.

Mr. LYNCH. It is a copy of a personal application for the Works Progress Administration of Pennsylvania, of James H. Dolsen, and also attached thereto is a specialized experience application of James H. Dolsen attached to it, on his special qualifications.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you deny, Mr. Dolsen, that that is a genuine document?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't care to state, or make any statement regarding that.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to make any statement whatsoever in reference to it?

Mr. DOLSEN. On that same ground that I stated before.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it or is it not a genuine document?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, its genuineness appears on the face of it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are raising no question about the fact?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am not raising any question about it as a document; no.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not raising any question but what you had it in your files?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was there; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that it is a correct copy?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is, when you say "your files," I presume you mean in my room, because that is where they were seized.

The CHAIRMAN. It is a correct copy of the original application that you made?

Mr. DOLSEN. So far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that true?

Mr. DOLSEN. So far as I know.

Mr. LYNCH. The original application was made to the W. P. A. in Pennsylvania, was it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now introduce it in evidence.

Mr. LYNCH. I am going to introduce this in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. You have objected to the introduction.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Overruled.

**(The document, in two parts, was marked "Exhibits 3 and 4," respectively.)**

Mr. LYNCH. You were born in San Francisco, were you not, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. If the committee will indulge me for just a moment—

Mr. STARNES. What was the answer to that last question?

Chairman DIES. He said "Yes."

Mr. STARNES. I had made a note that I wanted to ask him that question.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, did you ever work at the Crowell Publishing Co. in Philadelphia?

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer all of those questions or any questions connected with that document on those same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. But independent of the document, he is asking you a question that you certainly can have no objection to answering. He is asking you if you worked for a certain publishing company, independent of any document or anything else. You certainly cannot have any objection to answering that.

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't see what the purpose of that is.

The CHAIRMAN. That is up to this committee, to determine what the purpose of it is. You are asked simply whether you worked for this publishing company, and you certainly have no objection to answering that, do you?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer any questions as connected——

The CHAIRMAN. Disassociated from the document, I asked you if you ever worked for the Crowell Publishing Co.

Mr. DOLSEN. I worked for those people that it states on that document there, if that is what you wish.

Mr. LYNCH. You worked for them on the dates indicated there?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Which would mean between 1932—February 1932 to September of 1933, you were working with the Crowell Publishing Co. of Philadelphia as an agent, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And also from 1926 to 1927 you were working with D. J. Bental as a law clerk?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Was that in New York?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was in Chicago.

Mr. LYNCH. Chicago, Ill.?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And from October 1933 to November 1934 you were working for the Lipman Jewelry Co. as a salesman?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Where were you working for them as a salesman?

Mr. DOLSEN. Pittsburgh.

Mr. LYNCH. Pennsylvania?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And the Crowell Publishing Co., you were working for them in Pennsylvania also during the time indicated in this paper which I now, Mr. Reporter, exhibit No. 3 — and from June of 1928 to March of 1930 you were employed by the New York Journal of Commerce as a research worker, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer any further questions on those.

Mr. LYNCH. Why do you refuse to answer, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer on the same ground that I said before. I think you are just on a fishing expedition, that is all.

Mr. LYNCH. You do not refuse to answer because your answers would tend to incriminate you, do you, for a criminal offense?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. LYNCH. You refuse to answer that question?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask, what does that record show as his employment from 1932 to 1935?

Mr. LYNCH. February 1932 to September 1933 he stated and he swore there he worked for the Crowell Publishing Co., in Philadelphia, and from October of 1933 to November of 1934 with the Lipman Jewelry Co.

There is nothing after November 1934, until July of 1937, when he was on W. P. A. as a computer and statistician.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the period that he was in China?

Mr. LYNCH. The period was May 1927 to 1931, and in Russia from 1931 to 1935.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what is your explanation, Mr. Dolsen, for your statement here in this application under oath?

Mr. DOLSEN. If the committee please, I object that that has nothing, that that has not anything to do with the legitimate purposes and objects of this committee in calling me down here. It certainly is not to go into my whole personal life.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not care to make any explanation of the discrepancy?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not care to make any explanation.

Mr. LYNCH. Weren't you in Chicago in June of 1934?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't recall. I might have been.

Mr. LYNCH. You wouldn't deny that you were in August of 1934?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Didn't you make a sworn statement there on your application for passport that you had been in China from March 1926 to March of 1931?

Mr. DOLSEN. Maybe I was in China in 1926. I thought it was 1927. I might have been in China. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not responsive to the question, whether or not he made a sworn statement in his passport application; is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. The passport would show. If it is on the passport, I made it, but I do not recall particularly what I did say there.

Mr. LYNCH. For the purposes of the record I will ask that exhibit No. 3, constituting two pages—that both of them be copied in full into the record.

(The documents referred to are as follows:)

#### EXHIBIT 3

WPA Form 251 (Revised)

#### PERSONAL APPLICATION

WORKS PROGRESS ADMINISTRATION OF PENNSYLVANIA

(Give Name of State)

(This application is to be filled out in ink and signed by the applicant. If additional details will be of value, a separate sheet may be used and attached).

Leave this space blank.

1. Name: James H. Dolsen. 2. Sex: male. 3. Date: Sept. 30, 1937.
4. Present Address: 423 Arch St., Pittsburgh, Pa. 5. Tele No. -----
6. Legal address (if different from above) -----
7. Position desired: teacher or -----
8. Salary desired \$94.00 per month. 9. Lowest acceptable salary \$94.00 per mo.
10. When could you begin work if appointed?: immediately.
11. If appointed, would you be free to work overtime when necessary?: Yes.
12. Would you accept temporary work?: no. 13. If so, for how long? -----
14. Are you interested in part time work?: no. 15. If so, on what days of the week and during what hours of the day?: no.
16. Date and place of birth: Nov. 30, 1885, San Francisco, Cal. 17. Are you a citizen?: yes
18. If naturalized, give the time, date and place-----
19. State whether single, married, widowed, divorced or separated: single.
20. State whether white, colored or other race: white.
21. State whether you live alone, with your husband, wife, children or parents, or otherwise: alone.

22. Give the sex, age and relationship of persons dependent upon you for support:  
 (a) Wholly dependent: none.  
 (b) Partially dependent: none.
23. Describe briefly the nature of any defects, infirmities or chronic disease you have: none.
24. Have you ever been arrested, indicted or convicted for violation of any law other than a minor traffic violation? no. 25. State the particulars briefly: -----
25. If you have had fewer than three employers, give the following information, as to three persons, not related to you, who can tell of your qualifications:
- Name: Jacob Seligsohn Address: Jones Law Bldg. Pgh. Occupation: attorney.  
 Dr. B. J. Hovde Pgh. Dept of Public Welfare Director.  
 Al Tronzo City-County Bldg. legislator.

## EXHIBIT 4

## SPECIALIZED EXPERIENCE (APPLICATION OF JAMES H. DOLSEN)

1910-1911: Teacher in ungraded school at Rosebud, Montana. Held teacher's certificate.

1917-1921: Newspaper work—4 years on labor paper ("Labor Unity"), published in San Francisco, Calif. This paper was cooperatively owned and operated by about 50 labor unions. I was variously editor, business manager, and reporter. As research worker on N. Y. Journal of Commerce (see application form) as teacher of classes for workers: During the 4 years on the labor paper in San Francisco; also in Chicago and New York.

1925-1926: wrote a book entitled "Awakening of China." My knowledge of law effecting labor should also be helpful.

## 27. Education:

Type of School	Name and Location (City and State)	From (Year)	To (Year)	Diploma (Yes or No)	Kind of Course
Elementary.....					
High.....					(finished 1901.)
Business College.....					
College.....	Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin.	1905	1907	Degree—no....	Major and Minors, liberal arts.
Post Graduate or Pro- fession.	Northwestern University Law School, Evanston, Ill.	1915	1916	no.....	law.
Other.....					

28. What parts of the above work was done in Evening School? None.

29. Give below an outline of your employment record, showing your present or last position first and working backward. *List all your principal work* and in addition every full-time position you have held in the last 10 years.

Date	Company Worked For	Position Held	Salary	Supervisor
May, 1936		computer	71.50	Scott Keyes
July, 1937	on WPA	statistician	85.00	
Oct., 1933	Lipman Jewelry Co.	salesman	\$125.00	Harry Lipman
Nov., 1934				
Feb., 1932	Crowell Publishing Co., Phil- adelphia	agent	\$100-\$125	R. Andrews
Sept., 1933	N. Y. Journal of Commerce	research worker	\$30 weekly	R. C. Macwell
June, 1928				
March, 1930	D. J. Bentall	law clerk	\$25 weekly	D. J. Bentall
Feb., 1926				
May, 1927				
Sept., 1925	Chicago Workers Institute	English instructor eco- nomics	-----	H. L. Steward
Jan., 1926				

30. Outline any specialized experience which would be of value in the work of which you are applying. (See attached record.)

31. I certify that the above statements are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

(Signature) JAMES H. DOLSEN.

Project Number-----

Classification-----

Mr. LYNCH. Were you not a teacher in the Anglo-American School in Moscow?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is where I taught in the workers' group that I told you about.

Mr. LYNCH. And is the International Red Aid the same as the Anglo-American School?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; it is not.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you the correspondent for handling the correspondence of the International Labor Defense in Moscow?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not; no.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you have any connection with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. You mean between the two organizations?

Mr. LYNCH. Did you have any connection with the International Labor Defense?

Mr. DOLSEN. In this International Red Aid in Moscow, I was what they call a referent. A referent is a person who has to make a special study of a certain country in regard to political persecutions in that country, and who makes reports on that. For example, as the referent on America there at this International Red Aid I had to make a report on the *Mooney case*, for example, how he was convicted, and so forth; you see, that was my work.

Mr. CASEY. Who gave you the title of referent?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was the official name for a person who did that kind of work.

Mr. CASEY. Who made the official name?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I don't know, as a part of the institution, in other words, they had referents, like a business institution, you have somebody in charge of a department, and they are given a certain title, you see.

Mr. CASEY. Were there any other religious titles or semireligious titles in the organization?

Mr. DOLSEN. It had nothing to do with religion.

Mr. CASEY. But he said "reverent" which has a religious connotation to the average mind.

Mr. LYNCH. I do not think that he used the word "reverend."

Mr. DOLSEN. Oh, no; referent. (Spelling r-e-f-e-r-e-n-t.)

Mr. LYNCH. Is there anything further that you want to ask him on that point?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. I show you a paper entitled "Communist Campaign Calendar." You are familiar with that, are you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never saw it, as a matter of fact.

Mr. LYNCH. You never saw that before?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I never saw this thing. I have seen copies of it.

Mr. LYNCH. You have seen copies of this?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. You are familiar with it?

Mr. DOLSEN. With the contents; yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Your name appears on there as a candidate, State representative, James H. Dolsen; is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct. First legislative district of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh.

Mr. LYNCH. And those numbers there, under what is called signatures, minimum, and quota, what does that mean, Mr. Dolsen? What does the minimum mean?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, this has to do with entering candidates in the fall election in the State of Pennsylvania, and according to the Pennsylvania law a party or a candidate who is not in the regular primary of the Democratic or Republican Party has to get a certain number of people to sign his petition before his name will be placed on the official ballot for the fall election.

I was selected as a candidate in the first legislative district in Allegheny County, and this states the minimum names which we had to get on each of these petitions and the quota over here is the number of names that we wanted to get in full so that if some names were stricken out we would still have enough names.

Mr. LYNCH. And when you say "I was selected," who selected you?

Mr. DOLSEN. The city committee.

Mr. LYNCH. The city committee composed of who?

Mr. DOLSEN. The city committee is composed of representatives elected by the Communist Party in the city of Pittsburgh.

Mr. LYNCH. And you had a regular meeting?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be necessary for the Chair, due to the absence of a quorum, to resolve into a subcommittee composed of the Chair, Mr. Casey, and Mr. Starnes. We have to do that for the record.

Mr. LYNCH. And the person listed here as President is Earl Browder?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. He is the same Earl Browder who has recently been convicted in New York of fraudulent passports?

Mr. DOLSEN. He has now appealed his case. James Ford is the Vice-Presidential candidate—a Negro.

Mr. LYNCH. I will ask that it be marked.

**(The document referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 5.")**

Mr. LYNCH. By whom are they chosen?

Mr. DOLSEN. They have not been officially chosen yet, except that the Pennsylvania State Convention and the Massachusetts and several others have officially designated them, and then there is to be a confirming convention, I think.

Mr. LYNCH. Designated now, and they do not even have a primary until fall; is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. There are no primaries for the Communist Party, because they are not on the official ballot.

Mr. LYNCH. When do you have your national convention?

Mr. DOLSEN. The national convention is, I think it is the 30th—May 30.

Mr. LYNCH. Of this year?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And you have already selected the candidates in your area as to the President and first Vice President?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Is anybody handling campaign funds for you?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suppose so.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, who?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I suppose the campaign manager handles them. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Is he handling them for you?

Mr. DOLSEN. We have no separate funds. We are not bothered very much by funds, yet, anyhow.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know Ben Davis, or know of him?

Mr. DOLSEN. I know of him. I don't know him personally.

Mr. LYNCH. He is an outstanding colored Communist, is he not?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And you wrote a letter to the Courier, the editor of the Courier. Is that a Pittsburgh paper?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right. The Courier is a Negro paper published in Pittsburgh, with perhaps the biggest circulation of any Negro paper in the United States.

Mr. LYNCH. You wrote this letter to them in March of 1940, signed by you?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you follow the activity of Ben Davis regarding his efforts to have the antilynching bill passed?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did.

Mr. LYNCH. And do you recall when he testified before the Senate committee which was holding hearings on that matter?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do.

Mr. LYNCH. And you were completely familiar with the man, that is one of the reasons why you wrote this letter to the Courier?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know whether I would say "completely familiar," but I knew from the newspaper reports of what had occurred there, on the basis of that I did write this letter to the Courier.

Mr. LYNCH. And you approved of the activities of Ben Davis?

Mr. DOLSEN. A hundred percent.

Mr. LYNCH. Including his testimony before the Senate committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. A hundred percent.

Mr. LYNCH. Of course he is a Communist, is he not?

Mr. DOLSEN. He is, yes, sir. Well, I beg your pardon. I don't know whether he is or not.

Mr. LYNCH. You have every reason to believe that he is, though?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Don't you recall reading that Ben Davis testified before the Senate committee that he was appearing on behalf of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that that is correct, then he would appear as a Communist.

Mr. LYNCH. I will show you a letter dated February 23, 1940, addressed to "Dear Andy," and ask you if that was sent by you?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And who is Andy?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is a fellow who was given this literature, and he paid for it.

Mr. LYNCH. What is his full name?

Mr. DOLSEN. I object also, this is a personal communication, and has nothing to do, if I write a letter to a friend or somebody, what has that got to do with me before the committee? I am certainly willing to testify—

The CHAIRMAN. You object to answering who Andy is, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. I object to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't deny that you wrote the letter?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; and I don't deny the contents of the letter, and if the gentleman desires to read it, I have no objection.

Mr. LYNCH. Who are the authors of the books that you are sending to Andy?

Mr. DOLSEN. The authors of the books are as follows:

January Communist, the Communist Party publishes the Communist; it is the official organ, monthly organ.

Get Organized is a little pamphlet about that thick [indicating] which has articles and stories about how workers get organized into trade-unions.

Communist International is the official publication of the Communist International. It is issued, I think, monthly. It is numbered.

Teachings of Karl Marx was written by Lenin; Letters to the American Workers is by Lenin; Mastering Bolshevism is by Stalin; Theory as a Guide to Action is by Earl Browder; and Two Worlds was part of a sort of an educational course of seven pamphlets in the series, which was a study of what socialism and communism and capitalism are.

Mr. LYNCH. You sent these through the mails, did you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. To Andy?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; the particular books, and so forth; no.

Mr. LYNCH. The documents which are mentioned in this letter?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I sent the letter, of course, through the mail, but the documents I gave him, the books and pamphlets, I handed them to him personally.

Mr. LYNCH. In Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. You did it as the literature agent for the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And Andy is a Communist; is that right?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And yet you object to giving us his name and refuse to give us his name?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, just for the purpose of the record, I will ask the Chair to direct him to answer that question, so that we will have it on the record that he has definitely refused.

Mr. DOLSEN. I have answered that.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to answer the following question: Who is Andy, referred to in the letter?

Mr. DOLSEN. Insofar as the full name is concerned, I decline to give it. My declination is based on reasons of my constitutional rights, and his protection.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. LYNCH. This letter to the editor of the *New Masses*, you sent that, did you not, on February 23, 1940?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. This article by the Dean of Canterbury, entitled "Young People of the Soviet Union," you wanted that distributed among the high school and university students?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suggested that it should be reprinted as a pamphlet and that it could then be distributed among such people.

Mr. LYNCH. And that would be the high school and university people in the United States, would it not, that you are referring to?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. You say here that in a boxed-in statement, short and to the point, with a few statistics showing how few of our youths are accorded such opportunities—What opportunities were you referring to?

I will show you the whole letter so you can get the context of it.

Mr. DOLSEN. He pointed out that in the Soviet Union the government made a special effort to educate all possible young people because of the great demand for trained workers in industry and in government offices and so forth and the fact that they never had enough of them and that under those circumstances that the government of the Soviet Union gave every possible opportunity and that in the Soviet Union, in contrast to America, for example, there were not unemployed young people or older people. There were jobs for them all.

And what I suggested was that the editor of the *New Masses* should have the Dean of Canterbury's article reprinted in a pamphlet and that this should be widely distributed among American young people to prove that in such a rich country as America, if they could do it in the Soviet Union, certainly we could give our people in America something socially useful and train them to be efficient people instead of keeping them unemployed on the streets and in the corner saloons and public houses and all of that sort.

Mr. LYNCH. And you felt that the opportunities were better for youths in Russia than they were here?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am convinced that the opportunities at the present time in the Soviet Union for young people are very considerably better than they are in America, not that they could not be even better in America than in the Soviet Union, but they are not actually at the present time. I know that from my own personal experience with young people.

Mr. LYNCH. What about older people?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am convinced that the same thing is true about older people. That comes from the fact that in the Soviet Union there is no unemployment.

Mr. CASEY. Of course, right now there is an opportunity for the young people of Russia to get work on the Mannerheim line, for example, in the Russian Army, and so forth. It takes up a great slack of unemployment.

Mr. DOLSEN. It is true that there was an opportunity and they showed what they were made of by breaking through the line.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a defensive war, was it not? You regard the war between Russia and Finland as a defensive war on the part of Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I regard the former Soviet-Finnish War as a war which was forced upon the Soviet Union by Chamberlain and his group in control of British politics; in other words, that they were using Finland as a center from which to plan their campaign against the Soviet Union as well as to use it as a center to open up a new front against Germany, and in that sense, Mr. Dies, while Finland is a very small country, that nevertheless a small mouse can make a whole lot of damage to a very big lot of furniture when there is something behind that mouse.

The CHAIRMAN. From your viewpoint, Russia was really engaged in a defensive war?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is, from my standpoint it was.

The CHAIRMAN. And Finland was preparing to attack Russia, is that true?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would not say that Finland as a single country by itself was preparing to attack the Soviet Union, but Finland was being used by Chamberlain and Daladier as a center both from which to attack the Soviet Union and also to try to get an opening up there for a new front against Hitler, to come down from the north.

The CHAIRMAN. Finland was a very small country. You say that your observation has been that a very small mouse can cause a great deal of trouble to a big country?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. You probably base that on the fact that a small mouse can scare a big elephant, but I never heard of a small mouse scaring a big bear before.

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know, Mr. Casey, whether that is quite an apt comparison, but I would use such an illustration as this, for example.

Cuba is a very small country, but if, for example, Great Britain had control of Cuba, and wanted to use that as a center for creating difficulties for the United States it would be in a very advantageous position, and the United States would be very much concerned.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you get the information from, that you have just given us with regard to the war between Russia and Finland?

Mr. DOLSEN. I get my information from these sources: The Pittsburgh daily newspapers, most of which I read every day; the Daily Worker; the New Masses, the Nation, the Republic, the New Republic; and what they call the World News and Views, the official organ of the Communist Party.

Those are the principal sources from which I get it, and listening to some lecturers who come to Pittsburgh and speak up at the Sunday High School forum, a big public forum held there and from all of these sources I combine and get my final judgment as to what is going on.

Mr. LYNCH. That is your final judgment on the matter?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

(Mr. Thomas returned to the room.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee goes back into a committee of the whole, with a quorum present.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you been unemployed, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have been unemployed from about 1937 or the summer of 1936, I think I was unemployed.

Mr. LYNCH. And you think that there is a better opportunity for all persons in Russia for employment, do you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well——

Mr. LYNCH. You said that a moment ago.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. You have not gone to Russia to seek employment or get into this movement that you have just outlined a few moments ago, both with regard to the United States and with regard to youth and adults?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have not gone there because I am an American. Why should I have to go there and get work? There is no reason why I should be unable to get work here.

Mr. LYNCH. You can go there.

Mr. DOLSEN. I haven't got the money.

Mr. LYNCH. Who paid your passage there before, when you went there?

Mr. DOLSEN. My passage before was paid by the Communist Party of America.

Mr. LYNCH. Did they pay your passage to China, also?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; that was paid by the International Red Aid.

Mr. LYNCH. But then when you left China and went to Russia, that was paid by the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was paid by the International Red Aid.

Mr. LYNCH. Both of them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. They paid your way home to America?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. There is an important angle there, Mr. Counsel, which I want to bring up at this time, if you don't mind. I wanted to ask Mr. Dolsen about this. Were you going to get into that?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes; I wanted to cover the correspondence first. Do you know a James Brown?

Mr. DOLSEN. James Brown?

Mr. LYNCH. I will show you a letter signed by James Brown on a typewriter and ask you if that came from your files?

Mr. DOLSEN. It did. James Brown is the name under which the literature account of the Communist Party before I was responsible, was conducted, and after I took it over it was conducted under the same name.

Mr. LYNCH. So you use both names, your name, and James Brown?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was the name of the account.

Mr. LYNCH. But some of this literature has been sent under your name, such as the letter to Andy was under your name, and in which you told him how much he owed you.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And so you use both names, James Brown, and yours?

Mr. DOLSEN. This was used with the orders in general, J. Brown, to keep that distinction under the account.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there such a person as James Brown?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know. I never saw him.

The CHAIRMAN. You just use the name, James Brown?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was the name under which the account was before, and I just continued it.

The CHAIRMAN. You mailed this literature to various places throughout the country, did you not, and other places requested?

Mr. DOLSEN. Through western Pennsylvania.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know Cary White?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never knew him very well. I met him several times.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you meet him?

Mr. DOLSEN. I met him in Pittsburgh several times.

Mr. LYNCH. Was he working with the W. P. A. project?

Mr. DOLSEN. I believe he was. I think that was before I came on the project. I believe he was in charge of the project when it was first opened.

Mr. LYNCH. And then were you ever employed in the W. P. A. at the same time he was?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Of course Cary White, you know he is a Communist, do you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know that he is a Communist, I don't believe he is.

Mr. LYNCH. Don't you know he was a candidate on the Communist Party ticket for the Governor of the State of Virginia, in 1936?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know. I don't know who the candidates in the different States are.

Mr. LYNCH. You never talked to him about communism?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You are sure of that?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know whether Cary White is still in charge of W. P. A. educational projects in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; he is not.

Mr. LYNCH. In the whole State?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know what he is in the State. I don't know what he is doing.

Mr. LYNCH. You don't know where he is or what he is doing now?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand that you do not know whether Cary White is in charge of the educational work of the W. P. A. in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; he is not in charge. I know that he is not in charge, you see, at least to the best of my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. What is his position with the W. P. A.?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know. As I say, you see before I went on it, the W. P. A. Workers Education Department, Cary White for a time I believe was in charge of that division, that was before I was on it, you see; and now what became of him afterward I don't know. You see I have no knowledge of that, because I knew him just by hearsay, that was all, and I think that I saw him a couple of times and I don't remember that I ever met him.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the Communist Party do you have in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. I should judge that we had about 900.

The CHAIRMAN. Nine hundred members in the city of Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point, how many of that 900 were on the W. P. A. in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. Of course I don't know, because I didn't know them all, but I would judge maybe 30 or 40, that is, including road work projects and so forth, because on the W. P. A. they were not supposed to draw any lines as to what your politics or religion or anything else was, it was a matter of being qualified to do the work, it was work relief.

Mr. THOMAS. Then the 900 Communists in the Pittsburgh area were working on all kinds of things in private industry, and other places?

Mr. DOLSEN. Those who were unemployed, of course, wanted to get on W. P. A., because it was, the conditions, unless you had a big family, were better on W. P. A. You got a little more, so naturally they all tried to get on there.

Mr. THOMAS. Of those 900 Communists, how many were unemployed?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know, because that also varied from time to time.

Mr. THOMAS. About how many? What is your estimate?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I don't know. I should judge that perhaps at the present time maybe a third are unemployed.

Mr. THOMAS. And two-thirds of the Communists are working?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is more or less of a rough guess, because I don't know them all.

Mr. LYNCH. Of those one-third who are unemployed, you say that all of them were seeking relief under either State or Federal relief?

Mr. DOLSEN. Of course, if you are unemployed you have got to get some way to live.

Mr. LYNCH. Unless you use your own money.

Mr. DOLSEN. Those that are unemployed don't generally have much money. Their resources are exhausted.

Mr. LYNCH. You would say the one-third unemployed would be receiving relief, either from the State or the Federal Government?

Mr. DOLSEN. In general.

Mr. LYNCH. And when you said 30 or 40, did you mean 30 or 40 members or percentages?

Mr. DOLSEN. I meant 30 or 40 members.

Mr. LYNCH. Were employed on the W. P. A.?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. How many did you personally know of that number?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that this is going very far afield. The regulations of the W. P. A. are very stringent that there is no distinction to be drawn, politically, or religiously, or any other way, and I can't see what this kind of questions are aiming at unless they are aiming to establish some distinctions and that certainly is contrary to the present law, and I would suggest that if the gentleman has some questions which are pertinent that he bring those questions up because I am sure that the committee does not want to keep this thing going—

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. How many of those Communists did you know personally?

Mr. DOLSEN. Which ones?

Mr. LYNCH. The ones who were working on the W. P. A.?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I couldn't tell. I knew some of them personally, of course.

Mr. LYNCH. And others that you did not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did any of them work in your immediate department, or bureau, that you knew of?

Mr. DOLSEN. There probably were some.

Mr. LYNCH. Can you recall definitely?

Mr. DOLSEN. I can't give you any names.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, I will ask you, Mr. Dolsen, about these various files, which were produced here—films, transfers, section organizers, and so forth, in which there appears to be no file in the folder.

You made these files, did you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Who made them?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. You are familiar with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You never saw them before?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you see them before?

Mr. DOLSEN. I might explain that. Mr. Barker took away all of these various files, and I had on a sort of a dresser top, a flat top, a whole long bunch in which there were all kinds of files like that, that was mainly my newspaper file in which I clipped out various things and then classified them according to these different sheets.

Some of these folders, those envelopes that you see there, were folders that were in the Communist Party office and I suppose previously, at some time, had been used for those purposes, and they were not in use and they said that I could have them for my own files if I wanted them and so I took them up there. They were lying at one end of these files and, as I had other material, I would cross these out and put—how I would classify this stuff, such as public utilities, and all of this sort of thing, and I also had a file for the Dies committee, and its proceedings, and I don't know if Mr. Barker brought this down.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you some questions in connection with it, please?

Did you write the titles on the folders?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I didn't write any of these titles. Those that I have you will see are newspaper clippings.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't write the titles on the folders?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I wrote none of these titles on any of these folders whatsoever.

The CHAIRMAN. When you got the folders from the Communist Party—

Mr. DOLSEN. They had those titles.

The CHAIRMAN. The titles were already written on them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, were the folders empty when you got them from the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were active in the Communist Party there, were you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of the central committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I was not a member of the central committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Isn't that the highest committee of the Communist Party of the city of Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the committee that directs the activities?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were also secretary of the Communist Party in the city of Pittsburgh, were you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the city committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What official position did you hold in the Communist Party in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. DOLSEN. You mean at the present time?

The CHAIRMAN. At any time while you have been there?

Mr. DOLSEN. At the present time I am a member of the city committee and am a member of the district committee; these two committees.

The CHAIRMAN. Previous to that what position, if any, did you hold in the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. None.

The CHAIRMAN. You never held any?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. While you were active in the Communist Party, did you have occasion at any time to see these folders or any of the files?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who gave you these folders?

Mr. DOLSEN. I saw them lying around and I asked if I could have them because I was keeping this file of newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you see them lying around?

Mr. DOLSEN. In the party offices.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they have anything in them at the time you saw them?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you get the folders?

Mr. DOLSEN. I got those folders, it must have been 3 or 4 months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the folders is marked "Y. C. L."

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the Young Communist League?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That would contain records of that?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. One of them is marked "Jeannette."

Mr. DOLSEN. That is the name of a city; and I suppose that that had material which pertains to that section.

The CHAIRMAN. To the Communist Party in that section?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suppose so.

The CHAIRMAN. Daily Worker financial drive. That speaks for itself.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Films. What would that have reference to?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am not sure, but I imagine that that would have reference to showing of films, don't you see, through the party organization.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, over a period of time, your party in Pittsburgh has shown films?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you get the films, in Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; we got them from Garrison.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you rent them from Garrison?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you displayed them at public meetings?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, displayed them at public meetings, or privately at what they called branches, in somebody's home.

The CHAIRMAN. They were dealing with the Communist movement in Russia, were they?

Mr. DOLSEN. They dealt with different things, of course. I don't know directly because I was not handling them, you see, but I know that I saw some of them. Some of them dealt with the Soviet Union and their industrial construction, and May Day parades and all of these things.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you have public meetings at which the public could attend the showing of them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Sometimes there were public showings.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the question of transfers has a reference to the transfer of a party member from Pittsburgh to some other area?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whenever a member of the Communist Party wishes to move from one section to another section, he must obtain an official transfer; is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Who signs that transfer?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think the secretary of the party signs it, the secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the local area?

Mr. DOLSEN. For instance, say that you have got here in Washington a branch, and somebody wants to move from Washington to New York City, and stay in the party, and then I think the procedure is that he applies to the secretary of the local branch who O. K.'s the transfer and marks where he is transferred to, and then he is accepted in the other place by the secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. But if he were to go to another place without the official transfer, he would not be entitled to sit in the fractional meeting?

Mr. DOLSEN. He would not be entitled to sit in the party meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. They used to be called "fractional meetings."

Mr. DOLSEN. They were something entirely different.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Turtle Creek refers to the Communist Party some place in that locality?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, section organizers would refer to the section organizers of the Communist Party; is that true?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is true.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, you were never a section organizer in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a section organizer in San Francisco?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what is the duty of the section organizer?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, the section organizer, for instance, a certain part, say a big city, a certain part of that city is separated, if they have a lot of members, and the party members, say, like I suppose northwest Washington, I don't know how the city is divided, they would be in that section there. Maybe there would be four or five branches, and then there would be a section committee and from these branches there would be a delegate or two delegates according to the size of the section, who would meet in the section committee; it was a subordinate. I think most all parties have the same kind of an organization; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the Garrison films, that would have reference to the same thing that we covered a few moments ago?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now here is a folder marked "contacts," in pen, and then erased, and the word "Philadelphia," is written on it. Now, when you have a folder "contact" that means contact of party members with sympathizers; does it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suppose so.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you have, for instance, a large group of people who are not actual members of the party, but who have indicated to some member that they sympathize with the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Who is more or less sympathetic with their purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you keep a record of those contacts?

Mr. DOLSEN. Sometimes they do.

The CHAIRMAN. In order to, of course, you hope to eventually get them in the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And then if you want information of any kind it is valuable to have contacts to get it from, is that not true?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think the Democratic Party does the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. I am just asking you what the Communist Party does.

Now, the question of finances speaks for itself. Auxiliary Party. What does that have reference to?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, wouldn't that have reference to organizers that were more or less, while they did not go under the name of Communist organizers, they largely worked with the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. That might be.

The CHAIRMAN. You would naturally call that an organization of that kind, for instance, you would call the Young Communist League an auxiliary, wouldn't you?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And the International Labor Defense, an auxiliary?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not call it that?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have in mind any other group that you would call an auxiliary?

Mr. DOLSEN. No. I can't tell what whoever wrote that had in mind because we don't use that term very much in the party, "auxiliary."

The CHAIRMAN. When you use it, what do you refer to, as you stated a moment ago, some organization that is not Communist avowedly, or professedly?

Mr. DOLSEN. It may be an organization in which the Communist influence is quite strong, so much so that they are willing to work with the Communist Party on certain issues. For instance, maybe they are interested in the struggle for negro rights, you see, and they will work along with the party there but be bitterly opposed to it in some other things.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they are organizations in which there are a number of Communists but they don't constitute the majority?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. But nevertheless the organization will go so far with the party line?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right, on certain issues.

The CHAIRMAN. On certain issues, but will not go the full length?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, on Trotskyism, that would deal with the activities of the Trotsky group in the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come in contact with that activity much in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I think that there is only one known Trotskyite.

The CHAIRMAN. They have pretty well gotten rid of the Trotskyites?

Mr. DOLSEN. They are not very active. Maybe there are some that do not make themselves known.

The CHAIRMAN. Johnstown would deal with the activities of the Communist Party in that locality?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You are familiar with the Communist group in Johnstown or Turtle Creek or any of these other places?

Mr. DOLSEN. Outside of the city, I am not very familiar with those groups.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with reference to the English sections, that would deal with sections of the party where they spoke the English language; is that right?

Mr. DOLSEN. You see, I don't know what this particular thing referred to.

The CHAIRMAN. But from your experience?

Mr. DOLSEN. In the early history of the party, they used to have English branches, and then foreign-speaking branches, but practically now all branches are English-speaking branches, so that there is no such a thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't divide them up any longer according to the language that they speak?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; because most of those people have been in this country so long that they understand English.

The CHAIRMAN. That was to take care of situations some years ago when a number of them could not speak English, and you would group them according to their nationality?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right, because you had to—you see they could not understand when you talked to them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, control commission, that was a commission in each section to control the activities of the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. The control commission generally was a committee in each district of the party which had a general job of—for instance, supposing that there was a conflict between some leading Communist Party members, which did not have to do with the principles of the party, but which was more or less personal, you see, and it was the duty of this commission to try to get that thing straightened out so that they could work along together.

The CHAIRMAN. If some member violated some rule of the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; that is what it would be.

The CHAIRMAN. The control commission's duty was to talk to him about it, and if necessary, discipline him?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was a disciplinary committee also. That is, it had also that authority to a certain extent, but you see you have a constitution of the Communist Party there, and you will find there that they have special committees which can be set up by which people—

Mr. THOMAS. Right on that control commission, didn't the control commission also have the power of expulsion?

Mr. DOLSEN. They had the power to recommend expulsion.

Mr. THOMAS. But when they recommend it, the person is always expelled?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, the party usually accepted the decisions of the control commission, because they figured they carefully thought it out.

Mr. THOMAS. Not usually, but always?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know, because I don't know all of those cases.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this heading, List of Secretaries of Lodges.

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt again, right on that control commission, who is the head of the control commission in the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know who is the head of the control commission in the United States.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Charles Durba?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I know him by name but I don't—

Mr. THOMAS. Don't you know he is the head of the control commission in the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, a list of secretaries of lodges, "lodges" refers to some other organizations?

Mr. DOLSEN. Evidently.

The CHAIRMAN. Like, for instance, International Workers Order, and other organizations? That was a list of the secretaries of these organizations?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suppose so. That may have been part of a mailing list. I don't know where all of these various folders came from. They might have been in different—

The CHAIRMAN. But you do know that the party kept a record of the officers in other organizations?

Mr. DOLSEN. For instance, if we want them to pass a resolution on a certain subject, and naturally we would send a copy of the resolution and ask them to endorse it.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, you would send a copy of a resolution to the secretary of the International Workers Order or some labor union in which the secretary was friendly to the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, very often we just send them to all of the secretaries.

The CHAIRMAN. And ask them to pass resolutions along certain party lines? It would not embrace the whole party line, but certain objectives that the party held in common with the organization; is that right?

Mr. DOLSEN. For instance, very often a matter is up in Congress and we would have our standpoint and we would feel that the labor unions should present a certain point of view and we would try to use our influence to get them to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, of course, the Communist Party is designated as the vanguard of the proletariat, the generalship, and the theory of it is to have a trained group, trained in the Communist theory and the Communist practice, and so that that group then in case of emergency or revolution or crisis would be in a position to take over and direct the revolutionary movement, that is the theory?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, I would not say that that is quite correct. Our theory is that in any kind of a movement, if the movement is to proceed and accomplish results, you have got to have leadership, and then what does that mean?

That means that, for example, you take a labor union, if in that labor union there is a group who are specially trained and understand the theory of labor unionism, and how to meet strike situations successfully, and so forth, they furnish the leadership to that labor union and the rank and file is ready to follow them provided their policies are successful and practical, you see.

Now, the Communist Party looks upon itself in the whole working class movement from the same standpoint, that its members should be especially well educated and should get all of the experience that they can, should try to understand the problems of the working people, and be able to interpret those problems, and be able to show the workers how they can direct their movement.

The CHAIRMAN. And to take the leadership in the particular organization? I don't mean leadership in the physical sense but to be in a position to direct the organization?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I don't know whether that is quite correct, you see, because what I am trying to do is make it very plain to the committee, to take a typical union, you see, and now we don't so much desire that our Communist members in that union shall be in the actual leadership of the union, we would rather as we express it, push up some of these other people into these leading positions, don't you see, to get them to understand how to lead an organization,

while we will help and cooperate with them the best that we can, so that they can furnish the leadership that will really advance the interest of that organization, and in that sense we would rather stand back, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Be in the background and push to the front?

Mr. DOLSEN. We don't want to dictate in our relations to the labor organization.

The CHAIRMAN. But you would want to be sure that whoever is pushed to the leadership would be sympathetic with the party line, with the objectives and aims of the party. You would not want somebody who was against the party to be in a position of leadership.

Mr. DOLSEN. We would not want them, those who were bitterly against our party, to be in leadership, if we could prevent it, you see, because of the fact that generally, experience has shown that those who are bitterly opposed to the Communist Party don't want the working people to do any more than get a little more increase in wages.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it then becomes the duty of the party members to go into other organizations, is that true?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, our duty, I will say my duty, say for instance I am a bricklayer, you see, my duty is to help to get all of the bricklayers organized into their union, that is one of my duties, you see, and the second one of my duties is to try to build up a good, clean, efficient type of labor organization, and in the third place my duty is to try to get those bricklayers in that union to realize that it is not only a case of their individually getting a little better conditions, but to help the rest of the working people also to get conditions bettered, and relate the movement in that fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. So that dependent upon the training of an individual Communist member, he is to go into such activities as will enable him to advance the program of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And therefore, say in your case, you joined a good many organizations, did you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not so very many.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of labor unions?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of the International Workers Order?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. International Labor Defense?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And in order that you might assist that organization in having the proper viewpoint, is that right?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right. Naturally, you see, we want to advance the interests also of our party. I think the Democrats and Republicans do the same thing.

The CHAIRMAN. You want to advance the interests of your party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you will have—let us take a labor union, if you have say 15 or 20 men in that labor union, is it their duty to meet separately from time to time to discuss the program?

Mr. DOLSEN. That used to be our policy, in the Communist Party, but it is not the policy at the present time and the reason why it is

not the policy at the present time is that we believed that in general, labor leadership, particularly in the C. I. O., is very progressive under John L. Lewis, you see, and we feel that in general the policy of the C. I. O. is a policy which is very progressive toward organized labor, and toward all groups connected with it.

The CHAIRMAN. So that with respect to the C. I. O., you have ceased, it has not been necessary?

Mr. DOLSEN. In all labor unions, we don't carry that previous policy through any longer, because now we think that the individual Communist in a union has to have trained himself by this time to the point that he will understand how to work with the rest of the progressive people there, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Now—

Mr. DOLSEN. Just a minute, Mr. Dies, if I might explain, you see, we believe that the influence of any Communist in a labor organization, for example, does not depend on the fact that he is a Communist. It depends on the fact of whether he understands the struggles and interests of the mass of the membership of that organization, whether he can identify himself with those interests, and whether the rank and file thinks that he is a sincere and honest man among men, you see what I mean.

The CHAIRMAN. But that is not confined to labor unions, you go into any organization?

Mr. DOLSEN. Any progressive group.

The CHAIRMAN. Where any part of the party line can be advanced?

Mr. DOLSEN. We are always interested in advancing the interests of our party, naturally.

The CHAIRMAN. So that now when you go into these organizations, if you can get a position such as secretary or president, that is a desirable thing, is it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, sometimes it is and sometimes it is not. It depends upon circumstances, you see. Naturally in most cases, if a Communist in a labor union, if the rank and file thinks that that Communist is one of their best people, and one of their best leaders, and the most active and honest and sincere type of a fellow, generally the rank and file will want to have him be an officer.

The CHAIRMAN. But they won't know that he is a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, maybe they do and maybe they don't.

The CHAIRMAN. But don't you many times join the party under another name? That is quite frequent practice, is it not, for protection?

Mr. DOLSEN. To join the party under another name except your own?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right. Well, that has been a practice lately, and the reason for it, of course, is that there was a danger that the party was going to be outlawed, you see, and the danger still exists, of course, and a lot of these workers have jobs on which the bread and butter of their family depends, and now they have certain convictions, and they believe that they should be Communists and they want to protect their family.

The CHAIRMAN. From any persecution or any discrimination?

Mr. DOLSEN. Because you can see how, here is a big corporation, for example, and many big corporations just like it was before in

the Allegheny Valley, in Pittsburgh, where I lived, you see, you take Aliquippa and all of these steel cities before the C. I. O. came in and organized the steel union, the worker in a steel mill could not admit that he believed in a labor union and say it publicly because he would be discharged and get blacklisted, and could not get work any place else, and now it is different because he has the protection through his union.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, tell me this. You are in the party under a different name, are you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I am under my own name.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, say, you have no objection to explaining how this membership book with Franklin D. Roosevelt's name happened to get in your files, and now, you know something about it?

Mr. DOLSEN. I just am willing to state this to you, that that belongs to some other person, you see, who used that name for his protection.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would he want to use the name of the President of the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am sure that I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the party permit members to use the names of prominent public officials?

Mr. DOLSEN. A person can use any name that they want, we can't control that, you see, because that is their own business.

The CHAIRMAN. How did the book happen to be with you at the time?

Mr. DOLSEN. Because it was left with me to get the dues stamps and have them put in there. In other words, you will notice that there is a dues stamp for each month.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was left with you and that is how it happened to be in there?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. So far as you are concerned, do you have your membership card?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have it but it was not in my room when Mr. Barker came.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you quite sure that you did not have the contents of these folders in other parts of your room?

Mr. DOLSEN. Oh, no.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not have them?

Mr. DOLSEN. No. That is why I was so surprised.

The CHAIRMAN. You put the dues stamp—it is your duty to put the dues stamp on all of the books?

Mr. DOLSEN. It is not my duty, no; unless it is given to me to have the dues stamp put in, you see. You may go, don't you see, a comrade may give you his book and ask you to go there and have a stamp put in there for him.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is not your official duty; who do you go to, for instance, this individual who was going under the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who did you take that book to or who would you have taken that book to, to get his dues stamp put in?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would get the dues stamp from the secretary of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. From the secretary of the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you just put it on?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Why didn't he go directly to the secretary, just a matter of convenience?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suppose so. I don't know why he did it, except that he merely handed it to me.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not happen often, does it?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, because usually the member goes to his branch, don't you see, and has it done.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, most of the members of the party use some other name than their own?

Mr. DOLSEN. I can't say whether most of them do or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have seen a great many of these books, have you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I haven't seen so very many.

The CHAIRMAN. From the ones that you have seen and from your meeting in the branches with others, is it not almost a common practice now to use someone else's name?

Mr. DOLSEN. I can't say because I have not enough experience, but I know that for instance you take in steel mills and places like that, where there may be some danger, or the man or woman thinks that there is a danger of their being victimized, generally they take some other name.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you keep a record of the membership?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see a record of the membership in Allegheny County?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never saw it.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how it is handled?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know how it is handled but I presume that there is somebody responsible for it but I don't know who that person is and I never had the job of taking the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course you have your own branch that you go to?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And do you know the section organizers of the Communist Party in and around Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. I know some of them.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any objection to giving the names of the ones that you know?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would prefer not to.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would you prefer not to?

Mr. DOLSEN. For that same reason, self-protection and protection to them, I don't think that you should insist upon it.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us see about this question of discipline. Your party teaches discipline, does it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; there is a section right there.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, if you did not follow the decisions of the party, you would have to get out of the party, would you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I could leave it voluntarily or be expelled.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in turn, the Communist Party of the United States is disciplined by the Communist International, is it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, as I understand the relation between the Communist Party of the United States and the Communist International is that it is one of what they call fraternal affiliation.

The CHAIRMAN. But if the Communist International laid down a party line and the Communist Party of the United States did not follow that line, they would be disciplined, would they not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know. That is, the disciplinary power of the Communist International, I don't know, but generally I imagine that since the delegates from the American Communist Party participate with delegates from other parties, at the making of the decisions, you see, those decisions are more or less binding upon them.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, that is necessary in order to bring about world-wide cohesion, unity of purposes and policies.

Mr. DOLSEN. Of course, the Communist International, if you read the statutes of the Communist International you will see that they make large provision for what almost would be a sort of an autonomy in a country, because they don't know all of the intimate situations that arise, you see, from time to time.

The CHAIRMAN. But you know it to be duty on the part of the member of the Communist Party to follow the party line as laid down by the Communist International, is that not true?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, and as expressed by the individual national parties.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. DOLSEN. Now, of course, the individual does not have any direct relationship to the Communist International.

The CHAIRMAN. His relationship is, of course, being a member of the party, which is in turn a member of the Communist International.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; so that in effect his duty is to follow the party line as it is laid down by the central body in Moscow. But the Communist here in the United States, it is his duty to follow the line laid down by the Communist Party in the United States through its conventions and so forth.

The CHAIRMAN. But you said a moment ago that it is the duty of the Communist Party itself to follow the line laid down by the Communist International.

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't want to be misunderstood on that. What I said, or what I meant to say, if I did not say it, was that there is, as I understand, you see I am not a member of the national committee so I don't know the details of this, but as I understand, it is a fraternal affiliation, you see, under which the decisions of the Communist International are given to the American Party and the American Party acts upon those decisions, either confirming or rejecting them, and I suppose if they reject them they notify the Communist International why, and then they discuss it later.

Mr. THOMAS. Might I ask a question there? In that description of the tie-up, that does not agree with the description given to this committee by your cousin.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, if there is any discrepancy between them I should imagine that Earl Browder is in much more qualified position than I am to be an expert upon the Communist Party of America.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that he stated the same thing that all of them do. He says that in effect, he said a few moments ago that if the Communist Party of the International didn't follow a decision, final decision of the Communist International, they would have to get out.

Mr. DOLSEN. I beg your pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. After they had discussed it and conferred about it, if the Communist International said, "You have got to take this decision," the party would follow the party line as laid down by the Communist International.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, you see, I can't say what they would do or would not do but theoretically it would look as if that would be the relationship.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Dolsen said that the relationship was a fraternal relationship.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is what I understand.

Mr. THOMAS. And his cousin did not call it a fraternal relationship.

Mr. DOLSEN. I didn't know what he called it. I wasn't here.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an American citizen?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were born in the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. My people were here a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a charter member in the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us take what your relationship is to the Communist Party, or we will say, to Russia.

Suppose that the United States entered war and Russia was on one side and the United States on the other side, you would not support the United States in such a war, would you?

Mr. DOLSEN. Let me make this statement.

In the first place, of course, I can hardly conceive of a situation in which the United States and the Soviet Union would be engaged in a war. That is the first thing.

The second thing is that I would be against any war waged for imperialist purposes, if the United States were engaged in a war for imperial purposes, to expand its territory, you see, or to interfere in the affairs of some other nation, or something like this, I certainly would be opposed to that war, you see, and now let me make it a little bit clearer.

For instance, you have the case of the war made by Japan against China. Now, I support the war which the Chinese carry on against Japan, but I don't support the war which the Allies carry on against Germany, not that I support Germany, as against the Allies, either.

The CHAIRMAN. But the point that I am making is simply this: That if the United States did enter a war with Russia, you would regard that as an imperialist war?

Mr. DOLSEN. If such a war were entered into by the United States, against the Soviet Union, that it would be ipso facto an imperialist war because I can't conceive of the Soviet Union, that is, taking such a position, or a position of aggression against the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. And regarding it as an imperialistic war, you could not support the United States in such a war?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; if that were an imperialistic war, because I don't want to be like they said, you know, to the fellow, "Have you stopped beating your wife yet?"

Well, if he said "yes," it meant he had been beating her, and if he said "no"—

Mr. CASEY. Did you approve of the acquisition of Polish territory by Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. I approved of the action of the Soviet Union in taking over the eastern part of Poland on this basis.

Mr. CASEY. Never mind the basis.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, just a minute, I think if you ask me a question——

Mr. CASEY. I am going to ask you another question.

Did you approve of the Russian war against Finland?

Mr. DOLSEN. I approved of the Soviet——

Mr. CASEY. You can answer that question "yes" or "no."

Mr. DOLSEN. Now, just a minute, I have a right to qualify the answer.

Mr. CASEY. You have no right but to answer the question "yes" or "no."

Mr. DOLSEN. I will answer it "Yes" or "No."

Mr. CASEY. Never mind the explanation.

Mr. DOLSEN. Then I refuse to answer a point-blank question like that, if I don't have the right to explain it, Mr. Casey.

Mr. CASEY. I am just asking you, did you approve or did you not approve of that Russian war against Finland?

Mr. DOLSEN. I approved that war under those particular circumstances.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you think it a war of aggression?

Mr. DOLSEN. I consider it was not a war of aggression.

Mr. VOORHIS. You did not think Russia was conducting a war of aggression?

Mr. DOLSEN. Russia could not be classified there as an aggressor.

Mr. STARNES. Russia invaded Finland's territory.

Mr. DOLSEN. Technically, the Soviet Armies went into Finnish territory, that is correct, but I think that you have to look a little bit under the formalities of what appeared to be. In other words, if it is true that Great Britain and France had sent enormous supplies of war munitions previously to Finland and that the Mannerheim Line had been built under the personal direction of General Kirk, of the British Army General Staff, and had just been inspected last year and approved by him as impregnable, then the fact that it was about 20 miles away from the second largest city of Soviet Russia and a city which controlled one-quarter of Soviet industry, indicated, along with the past actions of the leaders of what is or was the present Finnish Government, that that country was being used as a means by which to direct an assault at the proper time against the Soviet Union and from that standpoint I consider in regard to this whole world situation that that was not an aggressive war by the Soviet Union against Finland.

Mr. STARNES. Would you approve the sale of war material and planes to Finland under the circumstances?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would not. That is, to the Helsinki government, the Mannerheim government.

Mr. STARNES. You would, however, to the Kasink government. Didn't he set up a government?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You would have approved sales to that government?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And you do approve the sales of raw materials and planes that the United States has made to the Soviet Union?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Well, then, I didn't get the first part of your testimony. You were born in San Francisco?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What was the date of your birth?

Mr. DOLSEN. 1885.

Mr. STARNES. Did you serve in the last World War, 1917 and 1918?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I did not. I was examined for it, and was about to have passed, and they asked me why I wore glasses, so they took off my glasses, and the examining officer said:

You would be dangerous because you would be more likely to shoot your own American officer that you could see than some German that you could not see.

Mr. STARNES. What was your occupation at the time of the World War, do you recall; what were you engaged in at that time?

Mr. DOLSEN. Part of the time I was an organizer for the Socialist Party and a speaker and lecturer for them.

Mr. STARNES. Did you teach in the public schools, high schools, or colleges of this country at any time prior to the World War?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I taught in the log-cabin schoolhouses, several of them, in Montana.

Mr. STARNES. You said you went to school at Beloit College in Wisconsin for 2 years?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. What years were those?

Mr. DOLSEN. 1905 to 1907.

Mr. STARNES. When did you go to Northwestern Law School?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that was in 1914.

Mr. STARNES. At Evanston, Ill.?

Mr. DOLSEN. The law school is in Chicago, or was at that time. I believe it has been moved since then. I don't know.

Mr. STARNES. Did you teach after the war in high schools anywhere?

Mr. DOLSEN. After the war, I taught evening classes, but I did not teach in the public schools, if that is what you mean.

Mr. STARNES. I asked whether you taught in the public schools or not.

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. By the way, when did you move to Wisconsin? Did you ever live in Wisconsin?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never lived in Wisconsin except during the period that I went to college there.

Mr. STARNES. When did you first go abroad?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, evidently that was in 1926. I thought it was 1927.

Mr. STARNES. Was that the same time that Mr. Browder went abroad, Earl Browder, that you recall, went to China in 1926 or 1927?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't know when he went abroad, you see.

Mr. STARNES. You were there until 1931, however?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. Did you reside continuously in China from 1926 to 1931?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. And your residence was in Peking?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I was in different parts of China; I was in Peking and Hankow and Shanghai and Hong Kong.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see Mr. Browder at any time while you were there in those 5 years?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I did see him, I met him there several times, I forget just what year it was.

Mr. STARNES. But he was there several times?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether he was there several times.

Mr. STARNES. I do not mean that; you saw him several times?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, what other leading American Communist did you see during that period of 5 years in China; name some of them for us.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I do not know what other leading American Communists I saw there.

Mr. STARNES. What did you see of other Communists, did you see any French Communists there or Russian Communists there?

Mr. DOLSEN. There were French Communists there.

Mr. STARNES. Who were they?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I do not remember what their names were; I think that one of them was a young fellow named—

Mr. STARNES. Did you see Jocardio, the French Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am not sure, I believe that I met him, I think that he is a rather heavy-set fellow, I am not certain, though.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see Tom Mann while you were there in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not.

Mr. STARNES. Did you know whether or not he was in China during that 5-year period?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Now, what about any German Communists; did you see any German Communists there during that period?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Name some of them.

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not recall the names; you know that was quite awhile ago, and I do not recall them, but I did meet some German Communists.

Mr. STARNES. I am trying to get you to refresh your recollection, that is why I am asking you these questions. When did you leave China?

Mr. DOLSEN. In 1931.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go directly from China to Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You traveled up the Siberian way across Siberia?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. When did Browder leave China, if you recall?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know when he left China.

Mr. STARNES. Do you recall the last time that you saw him there; do you remember what year it was in?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; that is what I stated previously, that I had seen him many times, or several times, but I did not remember what year.

Mr. STARNES. I am trying to refresh your recollection about it. Do you recall that you saw him over a period of years, during those several years, or did you see him several times in a single year?

Mr. DOLSEN. As I recall it, when I saw him several times it was within about a week or so.

Mr. STARNES. Within a week or so?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Where was that, in Peking?

Mr. DOLSEN. In Shanghai.

Mr. STARNES. Was there anyone with him at that time?

Mr. DOLSEN. What is that?

Mr. STARNES. Was there anyone with him at that time, traveling with him or associated with him?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not think so.

Mr. STARNES. What was the purpose of his visit there at that time, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I understood that he was going to help what was called the Pan-Pacific Secretariat of Labor Unions.

Mr. STARNES. Now, when you left—or when did you first leave the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was the first time, in 1926.

Mr. STARNES. How did you travel; did you go from San Francisco?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I went from New York City.

Mr. STARNES. What years were you in the Philippine Islands?

Mr. DOLSEN. That was, I think, in 1930.

Mr. STARNES. In 1930?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. You came over, then, to the Philippines or down to the Philippines from China, prior to the time that you went from China into Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; it was either in 1929 or 1930, I do not recall which.

Mr. STARNES. What was the purpose of your visit to the Philippines?

Mr. DOLSEN. My purpose was to contact in the Philippines the International Labor Defense of the Philippines.

Mr. STARNES. Who headed that movement at that time in the Philippines?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I do not remember who headed it, but there was a fellow called Evangelist there who was the head of the Communist Party there, and I think that he still is.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to resolve ourselves into a subcommittee of Mr. Starnes, the Chairman, and Mr. Thomas, in order to be able to do business. Proceed.

Mr. STARNES. Did you contact Evangelist there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not see him myself.

Mr. STARNES. Whom did you contact?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not remember, there were several Filipinos who were members of the Labor Defense over there.

Mr. STARNES. And what was the specific mission, because you certainly must have had some specific mission or some task in mind that caused you to leave your work in China and come there.

Mr. DOLSEN. As I recall it, Evangelist and some others had been arrested in some demonstration over there, and the Philippine Labor Defense was forming together to raise funds for their defense, and he was going to go on trial, I believe.

Mr. STARNES. What was the demonstration in which he was engaged?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, as I remember it, it was a demonstration against the outlawing of the party there, that is, in other words, they wanted to have a legal opportunity to carry on their propaganda, that is what I remember.

Mr. STARNES. Did you see anyone from the United States who was connected with the Communist Party and its activities on the occasion of your visit to the Philippines?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not remember.

Mr. STARNES. Did you go there under instructions from the International Red Aid, or did you go under instructions from the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. DOLSEN. Where do you mean?

Mr. STARNES. To the Philippines from China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I went under instructions of the International Red Aid.

Mr. STARNES. You went under the instructions of the International Red Aid?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; there were instructions from them that I go over there and meet those people and help them to organize a defense fund, you see, to raise money for their defense in the courts. I think that there was going to be a trial or something of that kind.

Mr. STARNES. You wrote this book, *Awakening in China*?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. At what time did you write that book?

Mr. DOLSEN. I wrote that book, I think, the end of 1925; it was written before I went to China.

Mr. STARNES. And Browder wrote a book entitled "*Civil War in Nationalist China*"?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether he did or not, I never saw it.

Mr. STARNES. You never saw it?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know that that is listed among his writings or publications?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never saw it.

Mr. STARNES. Well, I did not ask you that.

Mr. DOLSEN. I mean that I do not know.

Mr. STARNES. From reputation do you know whether he did or did not?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know, then, that Browder mentioned in his book, *The Civil War in Nationalist China*, his connection with Tom Mann and Josedario in China during that time?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; because I have never seen the book.

Mr. STARNES. And was that during the time that you saw him in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know, because I never saw the book.

Mr. STARNES. I understand, but there was a so-called civil war in China, was there not?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right, about half a dozen of them.

Mr. STARNES. You know that the Comintern sent Tom Mann and Earl Browder to China during that period?

Mr. DOLSEN. Sent whom?

Mr. STARNES. Tom Mann and Earl Browder to China during this so-called civil war period over there, they were sent over there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know who sent them.

Mr. STARNES. You know it is a matter of public knowledge or public repute that they did send them, and they were there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I beg your pardon, but I do not know that, maybe it was.

Mr. VOORHIS. I believe that Mr. Browder so testified.

Mr. STARNES. Mr. Browder did testify as to that in his testimony before this committee.

You did meet Browder while he was in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Now, when did you come back from the Soviet Union to the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that it was in 1936.

Mr. STARNES. Did you stay in the Soviet Union?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was either in 1936 or 1935; I have forgotten.

Mr. STARNES. Did you stay in the Soviet Union continuously from 1931 until 1935 or 1936?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was in the Soviet Union during that period, yes.

Mr. STARNES. That is not the question that I asked.—of course, you were there during that period, but did you remain there continuously during that period of time?

Mr. DOLSEN. You mean whether I was in and out of there?

Mr. STARNES. Yes; did you stay in there all of the time, or did you make visits out of the Union?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was out of the Union several times.

Mr. STARNES. What countries did you visit, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was in Germany and France and I was in what was formerly Austria.

Mr. STARNES. Did you visit in Prague?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Did you visit in the then Republic of Czechoslovakia?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. Whom did you confer with in Czechoslovakia?

Mr. DOLSEN. With the representative of the International Red Aid for that country.

Mr. STARNES. Now, during this period of time when you were visiting Germany, or before I go into that I would like to ask you if you ever visited England while you were there?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. At no time did you come to England?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. When you visited France and Germany and Czechoslovakia, how were you traveling? I understand under what auspices, but were you traveling as a private citizen of the United States, or traveling as a representative of the International Red Aid, or in any other representative capacity?

Mr. DOLSEN. I went there to those countries as a representative of the International Red Aid.

Mr. STARNES. What was your specific purpose or task?

Mr. DOLSEN. My specific purpose was to meet there the representatives of those countries, and give to them instructions in regard to what the International Red Aid considered that they should do, and to receive from them a report as to what they had been doing.

Mr. STARNES. And to whom were you to give the gist of that report?

Mr. DOLSEN. When I came back I was to turn them in to the International Red Aid in Moscow.

Mr. STARNES. And then you came home, back to the United States in 1935 or 1936; is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. STARNES. And you immediately thereafter went on the relief rolls?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, not immediately, but some time afterward.

Mr. STARNES. A very short time?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not such a long time.

Mr. STARNES. You were on the relief rolls in 1937 and 1938, you had to be in order to get that 18 months' period that you testified about, and when you got on the relief rolls you were used as an educational advisor or instruction aid in trade unionism and labor policies?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, we were called instructors, you see, and for instance the head of the project had to organize or get organized groups of workers who wanted to have an instructor come to them, and maybe they wanted somebody to tell them about these subjects.

Mr. STARNES. I get that, but I understand the connection and how you were used. You were assigned to that specific task, but the specific task that you had was teaching trade unionism, and the history of the labor movement to these people?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, and parliamentary law, and in fact we were supposed to teach them anything that had something to do with labor.

Mr. STARNES. You had studied parliamentary law and procedure?

Mr. DOLSEN. I knew it very well.

Mr. STARNES. And you understood labor tactics and labor organization technique?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And you were considered to be an expert or a man skilled in those respective fields?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I think that I may say without any boasting—

Mr. STARNES. Go ahead. I am assuming that you are being modest—I am asking the question.

Mr. DOLSEN. Without any boasting, the instructor told me, the head of the project, that I was by far the best teacher that they had, and undoubtedly I would be able to get back there, if it had not been for the fact that I am a known Communist, you see.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were you dismissed for that reason?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; not for that reason, but I was dismissed under the 18 months' rule, but the reason that I could not get back was that I was a known Communist in the city.

Mr. STARNES. Let us get back to China for a moment. Were you engaged in newspaper work the entire time that you were there?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. What other work did you do?

Mr. DOLSEN. Besides being editor of this newspaper, I was the representative of the International Red Aid in China, and I had to meet with the representatives of the Chinese Red Aid, and they would give reports, and I would discuss them with them, what their tactics should be, and I might explain that if you gentlemen remember it, you will remember that from about 1927 on there was a terrible repression of Communists in China, their heads were chopped off, and all of that sort of thing, and we were at that time engaged in trying to get support in other countries for these Communists, you see, and so as to ameliorate their condition.

Mr. STARNES. And you were making your reports, I mean you were giving advice and assistance as a representative of the International Red Aid, and you were making reports to the International Red Aid on your work?

Mr. DOLSEN. On the work of the Chinese.

Mr. STARNES. And as to the progress that they were making?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. How often did you make those reports?

Mr. DOLSEN. They were made very irregularly, but on the average once a month, you see.

Mr. STARNES. Now, was it necessary during the course of your work there for you to make any purchases on the part of the International Red Aid or to sign any leases on behalf of the International Red Aid? Did you in fact enter into any contracts over there with anyone or sign any leases, deeds, or anything of that kind, for and on behalf of the International Red Aid?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. STARNES. Did you do it on behalf of yourself or anyone else?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, for instance, I had a place in which I lived, and I had to rent that place, you see.

Mr. STARNES. And they required you to sign leases?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. When you traveled out of the Soviet Union, through 1931 to 1935 and 1936, whatever year it was, we will understand that that is approximately right, from whom did you obtain your passports?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, when I left America I had my passport here, of course, and then I renewed it, you see.

Mr. STARNES. You had that one passport renewed, permitting you to go from China into the Soviet Union and from the Soviet Union you had it renewed so you could go to Germany?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, I beg your pardon, that is not the way they do it. You have your passport, and I forget just how long it is good for, but we will say 5 or 6 years, and if you are abroad you have to get it renewed again, and if you go from one country to another you get what they call visas, with the stamp of the consul on it.

Mr. STARNES. Now, did the Soviet Union take up your passport when you entered that country?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. When did they give it back to you, if they ever gave it back to you?

Mr. DOLSEN. When I had to leave that country and go out of the country.

Mr. STARNES. When you say that you had to leave, why did you have to leave? Was it because of the termination of your employment or what?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not say that I had to leave.

Mr. STARNES. I am just using your phraseology.

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not know that I said that but if I did what I meant was that I wanted to come back to America; I had been away about 8 years, and I wanted to come back to this country.

Mr. STARNES. Did you have passport or visas renewed each time in your own name?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. And did you travel into Germany under the name of James Dolsen, and into France the same way?

Mr. DOLSEN. Always. Every place I went, I went under my own name.

Mr. STARNES. Who recommended you for this position with the International Red Aid that caused you to go to China in the first place, in 1925 or 1926?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, that was a peculiar combination of circumstances. This book which you introduced here on China, *The Awakening in China*, that was written by me in conjunction with some Chinese people in San Francisco, before I had gone to China, and it was as a result of that book, you see, that I was selected. When the International Red Aid asked that somebody should be sent to China as their representative, who could speak English, I was selected to go.

Mr. STARNES. Who selected you?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was selected by the American Communist Party.

Mr. STARNES. Who was the head of that party at that time?

Mr. DOLSEN. Lovestone.

Mr. STARNES. Jay Lovestone?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. STARNES. You do know William Z. Foster?

Mr. DOLSEN. Very well.

Mr. STARNES. And you do know Max Bedacht?

Mr. DOLSEN. Very well.

Mr. STARNES. And you do know William Weiner? He is the National Secretary.

Mr. DOLSEN. I only know him by reputation.

Mr. STARNES. You know all of these men either from personal knowledge or by reputation; they are leaders in the Communist movement in the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Because I believe you stated that you were with the party from its inception?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. STARNES. Have you been out of the United States since 1936?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have not.

Mr. STARNES. Since your return?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, sir.

Mr. STARNES. I believe that that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. There are one or two questions and then we will adjourn until after lunch. I wanted to complete the picture that you

gave here a few minutes ago of the Communist workings in Pittsburgh.

You are acquainted with most of the Communists there, are you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I know most of them? I would not say with most of them; I am acquainted with many of them.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been in many meetings with them, branch meetings, and general meetings over a long period of time?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that there are about 900 members there, in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That does not include the sympathizers that you testified about?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you place the total estimate of the sympathizers at?

Mr. DOLSEN. That would be very difficult to say, because nobody knows.

The CHAIRMAN. From your experience with the sympathizers, there is a greater number than the number of the actual members?

Mr. DOLSEN. Undoubtedly, that is always true.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you mentioned the 900, and what percentage of them were, for instance, in labor unions?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, that also would be very difficult, because you see they were not classified according to whether they were in unions or not.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, knowing the men and seeing them and hearing them talk, would you say the majority of them were affiliated with some labor union?

Mr. DOLAN. Well, if you include an unemployed organization, I would say "Yes," as a labor union.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when you met in your branch meetings, did you have discussions about what went on in particular shops in which members worked?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not generally.

The CHAIRMAN. What were the discussions about in the branch meetings?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, for instance, take like at the present time; you see, it can be illustrated, we will say that there is a meeting of the Communist Party branch, and what do they take up? They take up principally at the present time the question of the war, is this an imperialistic war, and if it is an imperialistic war, then what should our attitude be?

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that we have gone back into the full committee.

But the members as they go into the branch meetings, that is a secret meeting, is it not, in the sense that no one can go except a member of the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. If it is a regular branch meeting, then only members of the party can go in, just like a union meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. But sometimes you let the sympathizers come in?

Mr. DOLSEN. Sometimes we have what we call open meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. At which time the sympathizers come in?

Mr. DOLSEN. Or anybody who wants to.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, each member, of course, is familiar with the conditions in his own shop?

Mr. DOLSEN. If he works in a shop, he is supposed to be familiar with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he report the conditions at the branch meetings?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he discuss those conditions in any sense?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, he usually does not. Sometimes, for instance, we will say that a man works in a certain mill, we will say, and the party, of course, at the present time desires that the mill workers shall accept its viewpoint that this present war in Europe is an imperialistic war, and now naturally workers do not accept that, there are all kinds of viewpoints, so that some comrade who is working in that mill may meet with some responsible leader of the party, and discuss the objections that he meets among those workers in regard to his views on the war, and how he can overcome that.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is the duty of the member to answer questions that any responsible leader has asked him?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. If you are working in the steel mill, and a responsible party leader wants to find out what is going on in that mill, it is your duty to report that to him.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And then in turn that responsible party leader may see fit to report the same information to the national organization in New York?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; if it is important enough.

The CHAIRMAN. So that through that means, the international leaders keep fully informed on what is going on throughout the United States.

Mr. DOLSEN. They have their finger on the pulse of what you call the public.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, how many representatives of the Communist International or the Soviet Union have you met in and about Pittsburgh, in that area?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, representatives of the Soviet Union, I have not met any.

The CHAIRMAN. Or of the Communist International?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have not met any.

The CHAIRMAN. You have not met any who has come in like you did when you went into China?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, you see, I did not come as a representative of the Communist International; I came as a representative of the Red Aid.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you had any Communists residing abroad, affiliated with any of these organizations, who has come into Pittsburgh to confer with your party?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; not that I know of; not a single one.

The CHAIRMAN. Not that you know of?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And you never did correspond with Dozenberg, write him letters?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And he never did write you any letters?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. And you never did discuss any matters with him?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Pertaining to the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Pertaining to anything in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know whether or not there was an intelligence service in the United States of the Soviet Union?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know that; I know that it has been reported before your committee.

The CHAIRMAN. But you never yourself heard of a G. P. U. here in the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know whether or not Mr. Dozenberg was connected in any way with that group?

Mr. DOLSEN. As I say, I do not know anything about Dozenberg except that at a time in Chicago, it must have been around 1924 or 1923 or so, I met him then.

The CHAIRMAN. But you yourself, when you were traveling for the International Red Aid, you yourself made regular reports to the international office in Moscow, did you not? You reported all information that came to you directly to them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; that had to do with the work of the Red Aid.

The CHAIRMAN. Any information that they wanted to know about China, you gave it to them, did you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Connected with the Red Aid; that was my business.

The CHAIRMAN. So that in turn, that is the duty of any party member who is traveling for any of these international offices, is to impart the information to the headquarters in Moscow?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask the witness a question right on that point. Is it not true that Dozenberg was in China at the same time that you were in China?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know.

Mr. THOMAS. You do know, do you not, that he was in the Philippines at the same time that you were there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know that, because I remember I did not meet him there.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, where is the office located in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. 305 Seventh Avenue.

Mr. LYNCH. And who is in charge of the office?

Mr. DOLSEN. George Powers.

Mr. LYNCH. And how long have you had that membership card at your home that was identified here earlier in your testimony?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is, I suppose, about 8 or 9 days or so.

Mr. LYNCH. And it is a Pittsburgh man, is it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. It is a Pittsburgh person.

Mr. LYNCH. What is his name?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, that is what I stated that I did not care to state.

Mr. THOMAS. Who signed that book there, who was the Secretary who signed it?

Mr. LYNCH. Martin Young; is he the secretary?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know Martin Young?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know him by any other name?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know him by the name of Leon Platt?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. THOMAS. You have heard that he is known as Leon Platt?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never heard of that name.

The CHAIRMAN. We will come back at 2:30 o'clock.

(Thereupon, at 1 o'clock p. m., a recess was taken until 2:30 p. m.)

#### AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:40 p. m., pursuant to taking a recess.)

Present: Messrs. Dies (chairman), Dempsey, and Thomas.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

#### STATEMENT OF JAMES HULSE DOLSEN—Resumed

Mr. Dolsen, is it a common practice for members of the Communist Party to take out insurance policies payable to the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I do not think it is.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any information of that being done in many instances?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know of your own knowledge?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any instance in which that has been done?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know of any.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know of any instance?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, of the 900 members that you have in Pittsburgh were those members active in a number of other organizations besides trade union organizations?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, in Pittsburgh there are not very many other organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that?

Mr. DOLSEN. In Pittsburgh there are not very many other organizations there. There was a branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy. A few of them were active in that and there are some fraternal organizations, of course, like Polish and the different language organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, of these 900 how would you classify them according to nationalities? Different nationalities belong to it?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you give us some idea of the nationalities in that 900 members?

Mr. DOLSEN. You see, it is only sort of a general statement, because, as I say, I do not know what their different nationalities are, but naturally it reflects all the different nationalities which are in Pittsburgh and these nationalities principally are, as I understand it, there is among them—a considerable number of the nationals are Polish, Italian, Jewish, if you can call that a nationality, and various Slavic groups like the Czechoslovenes, Czechoslavs, the Czechs, the Croatians, and people of that type.

The CHAIRMAN. What about your Negro population?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, yes, there is a big Negro population there. In fact, with the exception of Philadelphia we have the biggest Negro population in the State of Pennsylvania.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have many members who are Negroes?

Mr. DOLSEN. Quite a number.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as to the economic situation, do you have many educated members of the Communist Party? I mean by that graduates of high schools, colleges, and universities?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; quite a number. I could not estimate how many, but quite a number, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Quite a number of them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, do you have many skilled workmen who belong to the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; we have some.

The CHAIRMAN. Skilled workmen?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right; you mean, like carpenters and people like that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it a representative group along economic lines; do you have unemployed and people who are employed, some making small wages, and some who are making good wages?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I think it is in general the sort of picture of the community you could expect, but naturally, you know, in the higher income brackets we do not have very many.

The CHAIRMAN. I was not speaking of the higher incomes—

Mr. DOLSEN (interposing). Just ordinary people.

The CHAIRMAN. About middle class?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; middle-class working people.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you participate in these various campaigns to raise money for the Loyalist cause in Spain, for the Chinese, and for different groups?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you participate in that?

Mr. DOLSEN. You mean personally?

The CHAIRMAN. The Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Oh, yes; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. In raising money for these various causes?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right. You see, all of the campaigns, for example, that were organized by our national party were in turn carried out to the best of their ability by the various sections and branches.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you up in Pittsburgh play an active part in recruiting volunteers for Spain?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know anything about that.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know anything about that?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know how many of your party members went to Spain?

Mr. DOLSEN. I know that there were some of them who did go to Spain?

The CHAIRMAN. Who did?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, with reference to religion, I notice in one of your folders that you have some pamphlets dealing with the question of religion. Do you make any effort to spread atheism?

Mr. DOLSEN. No. You see, in the membership of the party we do not draw any distinctions nor ask people what their religions are. Now, the Communist philosophy, as such, is a materialist philosophy, of course, you see. In other words, the Communist philosophy believes it is natural forces which operate in the world and that every business is to understand these forces and people to use and control them. I might add a little bit to the answer, too.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in other words, the Communist theory is atheistic; that is, they do not believe in God?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, the philosophy of the movement is materialist.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes. It says that the world was created by natural forces brought into being by natural forces and it is—what people must do in order to advance is understand these natural forces around them and try to harness them and use them for constructive purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in Russia, and as a matter of fact, you are, of course, qualified to say that they taught that philosophy to the student group everywhere, did they not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Do you mean in the universities and so forth?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, of course, I cannot say, only what my impression was, because I did not go to those universities, but my own understanding is that in the schools they are taught natural philosophy, and, you see, those of them who want to belong to the Communist Party, or have any desire to, of course, they study Marxism, materialism, or economic determinism, as it is called, but in order to be a member of the Communist Party you do not have to be an atheist; you can be a Catholic or a Protestant. That is up to you yourself, see?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. I might, with your permission, illustrate the process going on now in the Soviet Union which I think you had reference to, in this way, see? For example, when a new city is laid out in some industrial sector, in laying out the plant the government is required to lay out a whole city for the people and the workers who are going to work and live there. When they do that, as I understand it, they do not include churches, for example, among the buildings, you see, and the workers go there, we will say, these young people go there. Some of them are religious and some of them are not. They find in that city facilities for all the things in which they are interested around clubs and all of these kind of cultural accompaniments that go with it. They have a voice in the operation of their

factory, and so forth, and gradually religion or the religious expression sort of dies out, although some people claim that there is sort of a religious spirit in these workers in building up their own industries, they have a voice in it, and they feel they are being constructive, which the worker in America does not feel. He feels his employer is his boss, a sort of an enemy of his, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have some professional people like school teachers among your members? Have you any school teachers in your membership?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not think we have got any school teachers.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any lawyers?

Mr. DOLSEN. We have some engineers, and people of that kind.

The CHAIRMAN. You have lawyers, engineers, and doctors?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, not very many, just a few.

The CHAIRMAN. So, you could not properly say all your appeal is to people who are poverty-stricken; your appeal is to different groups, people to whom intellectual appeal is made, and so forth, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would explain it this way: Our appeal basically is to the great mass of the working people, but from our standpoint the middle class and the professional people are basically in their economic interests, and their future is linked up with the interests of the great mass of the people, see?

The CHAIRMAN. When did the united front as a strategy or tactic come into existence in this country? When did you first begin to operate through the united front move?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not recall exactly; I believe it was about 1935 or 1936, I am not sure. It may have been a little bit before that. The whole matter was discussed, I know, at one of the meetings of the Communist International. It was begun primarily to crystalize the front of the people in the different countries on an antiwar program.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you put that strategy into effect in and about Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, we did the best we could.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have success with it?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would not say we had a great deal of success.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you abandoned it recently?

Mr. DOLSEN. No. Now, our policy in regard to organizing antiwar groups is that organized labor itself must take that initiative, that before it was a case of the middle class elements taking more or less leadership, but now the leadership is falling into the hands of the working class directly because of the fact that large elements among the middle class are all up in the air over the present situation. They do not know where they are going. They do not understand fundamentally what is involved. What I am giving you, of course, is our standpoint, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. DOLSEN. You must understand when I say "our understanding," that I am not trying to qualify as an expert on the Communist Party because I am not one of the main leaders, see, but I am just giving you as I understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have given considerable study to the whole thing.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You would be regarded as an expert, would you not? They sent you abroad in recognition of your qualifications.

Mr. DOLSEN. I could not say. I do not know. That is, I believe that I understand the movement and its philosophy, because I have been active and sacrificed a good deal for it.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, this exhibit which was referred to here, just for the benefit of the committee members who were not here before when we discussed this matter, you printed the name in here, did you not [indicating]?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. The name "Franklin D. Roosevelt" and the other writing or print which appears on the first page of this book?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. That was issued, as you have said to a person——

Mr. DOLSEN (interposing). That is right.

Mr. LYNCH (continuing). Who is a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. And it appears from this book that the person was a member before 1940, this year?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. It is a renewal for the year 1940?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And you also said, and it is correct, that the person to whom it was issued did not bear the name Franklin D. Roosevelt?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. He has some other name?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And he insisted that he use the name Franklin D. Roosevelt?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. And you attempted to persuade him not to use it, but to use some other name such as Jones or Smith?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not remember; it was not a very good name to use.

Mr. LYNCH. But you did try to get him to use some other name?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Why did you point that out to him?

Mr. DOLSEN. Because I knew Franklin D. Roosevelt was not a member of the Communist Party and never would be, in my opinion.

Mr. LYNCH. Yet he insisted on using it and you printed his name in there?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. You came into possession of this book [indicating] because he gave it to you to have his dues stamp pasted in there?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; that is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And he paid his dues?

Mr. DOLSEN. And there, of course, is a list of the members whose names appear on these books of our secretary's office. I expect, wherever they are, like in Chicago, or Pittsburgh, or wherever they are. I suppose so.

Mr. LYNCH. If the list should ever be published it would appear on there because this apparently is an official book issued in the

name of Franklin D. Roosevelt, number so and so, who was a member of the Communist Party, would it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suppose so.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you tell us, Mr. Dolsen, without disclosing the name of the man at this time, whether he is a well-known Communist, or whether he is just an ordinary member?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not care to answer the question; I would prefer not to answer the question, please.

Mr. LYNCH. This book was issued by you on behalf of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And then he later returned it to you to place his dues stamp in there?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And you said before that you do know the name of the man but won't disclose it?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. There are a couple of other things I want to ask you about, Mr. Dolsen. You wrote a letter, did you not, to Senator Guffey, of Pennsylvania?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Of which this is a copy [indicating]?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. And you also wrote a letter to Mrs. Roosevelt, of which this is a copy?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And the article which is pasted to the copy is of the date appearing thereon, January 22?

Mr. DOLSEN. This was taken from the Pittsburgh Press dated January 22.

Mr. LYNCH. The Pittsburgh Press, January 22?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right, this year.

(The letter, dated January 22, 1940, addressed to Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, White House, D. C., was marked "Dolsen P. M. 1." and is as follows:)

DEAR MRS. ROOSEVELT: I am writing to express my surprise at your appeal in today's Pittsburgh Press under your column "My Day" for the Hoover Finnish Relief Fund. You have long had an outstanding reputation as a liberal and partisan of the common people. How then can you ask for contributions to a government, the real power behind which, in Finland, is not the Finnish workers and peasants but the ex-Czarist General and big landowner Mannerheim? In the State Dept. are despatches from our own government representatives abroad, who, after the World-War—if I am correctly informed—reported that he had shot down thousands of Finns without trials and had confined thousands of others in concentration camps where they were tortured as badly as Hitler's prisoners have been in Germany.

Moreover, why should we suddenly lose our heads about a couple million Finns over in Europe and forget about the thousands of our own unemployed who are starving or near starvation all the time? Why is it that Hoover says nothing about our own Americans who are suffering as badly—though perhaps not so dramatically—as those Finns are alleged to be?

Furthermore, how can you, Mrs. Roosevelt, urge attending those "benefit" performances for the Finnish Relief? Do you not know that actors and actresses who are not convinced that the Hoover Relief is a genuine movement to aid the suffering but are suspicious of Hoover's objectives are objecting to having to take part?

I presume you may find these criticisms unpleasant but I think you should nevertheless realize that they express a growing apprehension among many

people that this whole Finnish "relief" has much more back of it than appears on the surface.

Respectfully yours,

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(The letter dated February 5, 1940, addressed to United States Senator Joseph Guffey, Washington, D. C., was marked, "Dolsen P. M. 2," and is as follows:)

DEAR SIR: AS one of your constituents I urge that you vote against any aid to the Helsinki Finnish government, either open or disguised. Aid to that government under existing circumstances would, in my opinion, be a violation of our neutrality and a step which would tend to draw us closer to involvement in the wars in Europe.

I urge that you do all in your power to prevent such involvement, regardless of your position on the question of a third term for President Roosevelt. Whatever reasons the President may have for his sudden action in proposing huge loans abroad while his own budget proposals seriously slash unemployment and farm relief although the situation is still very serious, they are not sufficient, in my judgment, for you as a US Senator to give your support.

Many people with whom I have spoken in this ward (Third Ward) are of the same opinion as this. I have yet to run across one who does not feel that if additional funds are to be voted, they should be spent to alleviate such terrible starvation conditions as existed in Cleveland, Ohio. Right in Pennsylvania, we, too, are not so far from a relief crisis.

Respectfully yours,

---

MR. LYNCH. And the reference in your letter of which this is a copy is to the article which is attached to it?

MR. DOLSEN. That is right, to this marked portion of the article, along in here [indicating].

MR. LYNCH. Your letter to Mrs. Roosevelt is objecting to her sponsoring the Finnish relief, is it not?

MR. DOLSEN. Just a second; I think it is; that is right, that is correct.

MR. LYNCH. And your objection primarily to her sponsoring Finnish relief was because it was a war of aggression on behalf of Finland?

MR. DOLSEN. I think the reasons are stated right in there.

MR. LYNCH. Is that also a reason, that it was a war of aggression insofar as Finland was concerned?

MR. DOLSEN. I think the letter speaks for itself.

MR. LYNCH. Will you answer the question also, Mr. Dolsen?

MR. DOLSEN. Well, I prefer to have the letter answer, because that was my opinion. That was the one I sent her, that you have now. Do you intend to read those?

MR. LYNCH. Do you want them read?

MR. DOLSEN. Yes.

MR. LYNCH. We will put them in the record.

MR. DOLSEN. I see.

MR. LYNCH. The general purport of your letter to Senator Guffey was asking him not to vote for any aid to Finland?

MR. DOLSEN. That is right.

MR. CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask is it customary to read these aloud or not at these hearings like this when they are introduced as evidence.

THE CHAIRMAN. You mean this letter here?

MR. DOLSEN. Any material like that, Mr. Chairman.

MR. LYNCH. Do you want it read?

Mr. DOLSEN. I would like to have it read, both of them, since they were introduced here, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. This is merely what you have previously told us about your position of not aiding Finland and your views generally on the Finnish-Russian conflict.

Mr. DOLSEN. This is a little bit more in detail.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not see any particular reason to go into it any further—

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). May I ask also what his purpose is in calling attention to these letters?

Mr. LYNCH. To show that this party was objecting to aid to Finland where he was endeavoring to aid four or five other countries which were invaded. Mr. Dolsen, you were in favor of aid to the Spanish Loyalists?

Mr. DOLSEN. Absolutely.

Mr. LYNCH. And in the aid to the Czechs?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And the Ethiopians?

Mr. DOLSEN. Absolutely.

Mr. LYNCH. And the Austrians?

Mr. DOLSEN. Absolutely.

Mr. LYNCH. And are there any others that I have not mentioned?

Mr. DOLSEN. The Chinese.

Mr. LYNCH. The Chinese?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. But not to the Finns?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; not to the Mannerheim Finnish Government.

Mr. LYNCH. And that was the theory, that it was an imperialistic government, and the effect of it was that they were invading Russia, that they were the aggressor?

Mr. DOLSEN. That they were in the sense which I explained this morning; I explained the whole situation.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, did you contact the persons who are mentioned in exhibit No. 3 before you sent your application in to the W. P. A.? For instance, Mr. Lipman, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Macwell, and Mr. Bentall?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you contact them?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And told them you were using their names?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Did they give you permission to use their names?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. They did?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Of course, you did not work for them during those periods all the time indicated there?

Mr. DOLSEN. I mentioned where I did work for them, that is, from 1936 to 1937.

Mr. LYNCH. You were working on W. P. A.?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. That is correct, is it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Let us take the next one, Lipman Jewelry Co., as a salesman?

Mr. DOLSEN. These are the same ones that I objected to this morning—

Mr. LYNCH (interposing). Wait a minute. You said you admitted you worked with the W. P. A.—

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, let us take 1933 to November 1934, the Lipman Jewelry Co.

Mr. DOLSEN. These I decline to answer—

Mr. LYNCH. Were you working at the Lipman Jewelry Co. from 1933 to—

Mr. THOMAS. I cannot hear you.

Mr. DOLSEN. I decline to answer those very questions he is asking, all on the ground that it is utterly immaterial and irrelevant to the hearing and to this committee's investigation, and on the basis of my constitutional rights.

Mr. LYNCH. I ask that the Chair direct him to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dolsen, what is the objection you have to answering? Is it your fear that you will incriminate yourself, or is it because of the fact that you gave the names stated in your application, and that you were working in the United States, when, as a matter of fact, you were in a foreign country?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, Mr. Dies—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). I want to be perfectly fair with you. I have no disposition to cause any man to incriminate himself or to give any information that will form a basis for his prosecution, but what I am interested in knowing is, is that the ground of your objection?

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Dies, as I understand it, I was brought before this committee to testify in regard to communistic activities, and this has nothing to do with communistic activities in any way, shape, or form, and, therefore, I object to it. It would be just the same as if I wrote the letters to some friend of mine and all of those letters were brought into this kind of a hearing. I am willing to testify to communistic activities but, as far as this is unrelated to that, I do not think you have a right to ask me to answer.

Mr. LYNCH. The evidence is, Mr. Chairman, he was working with the W. P. A. as a teacher, and this is his application—

Mr. DOLSEN (interposing). My answer to this argument is that if because I was working with the W. P. A. as a teacher, I do not have to be a member of the Communist Party, and I do not think all of these matters are entitled to be brought in.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the witness has answered, as I recall, the question in this way, that he has freely admitted he was not in the United States at the time.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. That he was abroad at the time and that necessarily means that the statement in the application is false, and would not and could not be correct. He has already admitted he was abroad and he was not in the United States at that time, and it therefore follows that his statement in his application that he had worked for these various parties during that time is a false statement.

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not know anything that could be added to that because it is very clear, is it not, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Chairman, I think that the question of the attorney is certainly a competent question because here is a man engaged in spreading communistic doctrines, and who, I assume, obtained a position as a teacher for that purpose. That is what he has been doing over all of these years, and it does have to do with subversive activities.

Mr. DOLSEN. If I would be entitled to reply to a member of your committee——

The CHAIRMAN. He is just making a statement——

Mr. DOLSEN. I understand that, but there was a certain implication in his statement that I was hired on the project to spread communistic doctrine, which, of course, is not correct.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I did not say you were hired for that purpose. I said I thought that was your object in getting employment. I did not accuse the people who hired you of knowing what you had in mind, but I do think you obtained the particular W. P. A. job for the purpose for which you no doubt used it, and that was to teach communistic doctrines to the workers.

Mr. DOLSEN. I object to that, because there is nothing here to show that I did anything of the kind, that I taught any kind of communism. My object was to get a job to keep alive when the W. P. A. employed me.

The CHAIRMAN. Your lectures speak for themselves. We have the lectures here that you made. I really think the counsel's question has been answered, because he has freely said that he was abroad at that time, that the application was based on a false statement. There is no question about that, is there, Mr. Dolsen? You are not making any point on it?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You have admitted your fraud and therefore your statement could not be correct, and I think that establishes it pretty thoroughly.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, what is your legal residence, Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you held Pittsburgh as your legal residence?

Mr. DOLSEN. About, between, 4 and 5 years.

Mr. LYNCH. What was your legal residence before that time?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I was in the State of Pennsylvania—I was in the State for a little while after I came back from the Soviet Union—I was in New York City about 3 or 4 months.

Mr. LYNCH. What was your legal residence before you went abroad?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think I was in New York City before I went abroad, that is, 3 or 4 months there.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever use Evanston, Ill., as your legal residence?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; for some time.

Mr. LYNCH. What reason did you give for traveling abroad on your passport, do you recall?

Mr. DOLSEN. I don't recall; no.

Mr. LYNCH. Don't you remember when you went to China, and when you went to Soviet Russia, and when you went to Czechoslovakia the object or purpose of your travel, or what you gave?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not remember. It is on the passport—

Mr. LYNCH. After you left Russia you then went to Czechoslovakia, as I understand from the answers you gave this morning, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. No. I stated in reply to Mr. Dies' question as to whether I had been out of the Soviet Union during that period that I had been. Then he asked me what countries, and as I recall it I stated Germany, France, Czechoslovakia, and Austria.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you not go from Russia to Czechoslovakia and stay in Czechoslovakia for awhile?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. No?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. At what places did you get your passports renewed?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think I got my passport renewed in Prague.

Mr. LYNCH. Anywhere else?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think that was the only time it was renewed.

Mr. LYNCH. After you left there did you then return to Russia?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And then returned to the United States.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Can you recall approximately when you left Europe, just before you returned to the United States?

Mr. DOLSEN. I believe that was about—I think it was in the month of April; it was in the spring.

Mr. LYNCH. In what year?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think either 1935 or 1936.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you recall that when you secured your passport and the renewals of it that you told them you were just traveling more or less as a tourist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not recall particularly, but I was traveling, as a matter of fact.

Mr. LYNCH. Of course you were traveling, and had to travel; but your real object was to teach, was it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was a teacher. That was what I put on the passport or the application.

Mr. LYNCH. A teacher?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think so.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you say the purpose of your travel was to teach?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not recall particularly whether I said that or not.

Mr. LYNCH. Also, for the purpose of the record, Mr. Dolsen, what is the name of the secretary in Pittsburgh; is he a man by the name of Ben Careathers?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right; C-a-r-e-a-t-h-e-r-s.

Mr. LYNCH. His office is at 305 Seventh Avenue, Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. He would have any records of any persons who are members of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether he would or not.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, he is the one who should have them?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I suppose so.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever instruct the International Workers Order to make the Communist Party the beneficiary of your policy of insurance?

Mr. DOLSEN. Did I ever?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is what I objected to answering: your questions on the whole policy.

Mr. LYNCH. You objected to that, too?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right; I objected to that, too.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that not a part of a scheme, Mr. Dolsen, to be very frank and truthful with us, isn't that part of a scheme to raise funds for the party by making it the beneficiary under those insurance policies? Can you answer that?

Mr. DOLSEN. The only thing I can say is that the ordinary person does not count it a benefit to die in order for somebody else to get their money.

Mr. LYNCH. No; but if they do the other person does get the benefit of the money; isn't that right?

Mr. DOLSEN. I refuse to answer——

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Lynch, right along that same line, is it not also the custom of various members of the Communist Party who have taken out that same kind of insurance to name the Communist Party as his beneficiary?

Mr. DOLSEN. That same question was asked this morning, and I stated that I was in no position to say, but I do not think so.

Mr. THOMAS. You do know of other Communists who have done the same thing?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, I do not; I do not know.

Mr. THOMAS. Weren't you instructed to do that?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was not.

Mr. THOMAS. You mean to say you did it yourself without anybody giving you the idea?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. How did you happen to get that idea; why did you do that?

Mr. DOLSEN. I should object to all of these answers; they all pertain to this certain document——

Mr. THOMAS. That has to do with communism and your activities in the Communist Party; we would like an answer to the question.

Mr. DOLSEN. I would like to say this——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). No, we would like to get an answer to the question.

Mr. DOLSEN. No, I can give you an answer; wait.

Mr. THOMAS. All right.

Mr. DOLSEN. My answer is when a man thinks he is going to die, because he is going to die some day, he generally has the opportunity or right to give anything that is left to whomever he wishes; I think that is a common thing.

Mr. THOMAS. I am trying to find out in my own mind how you happened to make the Communist Party your beneficiary. I understand the policy was first made out to Earl Browder, your cousin, and then you changed that later on to the Communist Party, is that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. The policy was made——

Mr. THOMAS (interposing). Isn't that correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. The policy was made out to Earl Browder and then I wrote him a letter and said I wanted the proceeds turned over to the Communist Party of which he was general secretary, you see. In other words, I did not want him personally to get the funds from it. I wanted the party to get them. Now, you asked me why I did that. The reason I did that was, in the first place, I am not married and have nobody to leave anything like that to, and in the second place, the Communist Party is more in the world to me than anything else is.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you talk this over with Earl Browder, the secretary of the Communist Party before you did that?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I did not.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know whether any other Communists did the same thing?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether they did or not.

Mr. THOMAS. But you rather believe they have?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, I do not think they have.

Mr. THOMAS. Is it not almost common knowledge within the party that it is being done now all the time?

Mr. DOLSEN. I never heard of it.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, there is a regular concerted move or policy of the Communist Party to object to any aid to Finland and to attempt great sympathy for Russia in their war with Finland; that is correct, is it not.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, the war is all over.

Mr. LYNCH. I mean in the war that just terminated.

Mr. DOLSEN. You mean previously?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, the Communist Party considers that the Russo-Finnish War from a Soviet standpoint was justified, and, naturally, when we thought it was justified we wanted people to be friendly with the Soviet Union.

Mr. LYNCH. And to agree with them?

Mr. DOLSEN. We were bitterly opposed to the Finnish Relief first, because Herbert Hoover heads it. We have no use for Herbert Hoover, absolutely none whatever, and we know that most of the working people in this country hate him more than anybody else in America. That is the first thing. The second thing is that this money was going to Mannerheim, who is a notorious butcher of the Finnish working class, and present Ambassador Bullitt sent a statement, a cable to President Wilson and admitted the murder in cold blood of about 20,000 Finnish workers. We were certainly very bitterly opposed and we are still to Finnish Relief.

Mr. THOMAS. On whom did Ambassador Bullitt blame that?

Mr. DOLSEN. He reported this as a fact, that according to the official statistics the Mannerheim Government, which was then in control of Finland, I think it was 20,000 workers had been slain without trial. These were the official statistics of the Mannerheim Government.

Mr. THOMAS. Was it not also true that Communists started an uprising there in Finland at that time and they were shot down to the extent of some 15,000 or 20,000 people?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; that is not true.

Mr. THOMAS. You know the Communist Party started that particular uprising, do you not?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, they did not. At that time there was a Social-Democratic Party in control in Finland. It had been elected by the majority of the vote of the people. The Social-Democrats of Finland were in favor of very close alliance and understanding with the Soviet Union. Mannerheim had brought in German armies——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). With all due respect, I think we have had enough on that particular subject.

Mr. LYNCH. To whom do you report as your chief, Mr. Dolsen, in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. DOLSEN. George Powers is the secretary of that area, that is, western Pennsylvania.

Mr. LYNCH. He is the one you report to as your chief?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Does he have the same address, 305 Seventh Avenue?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Is there a State chief that you report, or do your reports and Powers' go to a State chief?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; there is a State organization at the present time, but I do not know how the State operates and functions.

Mr. LYNCH. Where is the headquarters?

Mr. DOLSEN. In Philadelphia, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Barker has some questions.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, do you know Richard W. Laury?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do; yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. He is a former burgess of Homestead?

Mr. DOLSEN. West Homestead.

Mr. BARKER. West Homestead?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. He is president of the International Workers' Order in the Pittsburgh district, is he not?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. He is a Communist too, is he not?

Mr. DOLSEN. He certainly is not.

Mr. BARKER. He is not a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, there was associated with you while you were in this W. P. A. workers' education project a man by the name of William Burnstein?

Mr. DOLSEN. There was a teacher there by that name.

Mr. BARKER. A teacher by the name of William Burnstein?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Is he a Communist, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether he is a Communist. I know that he sympathizes with them.

Mr. BARKER. He does?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. He has attended Communist Party meetings at which you were present?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think he has.

Mr. BARKER. Would he be ordinarily admitted to the Communist meetings if he were not a member?

Mr. DOLSEN. Generally not.

Mr. BARKER. C. V. Wicker, who is director of educational projects in Allegheny County for the W. P. A., is he a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. He was one, but he dropped out.

Mr. BARKER. He was a Communist but he dropped out?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. When did he drop out?

Mr. BARKER. Yes; when did he drop out?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think about a year and a half ago.

Mr. BARKER. About a year and a half ago?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Speak louder.

Mr. DOLSEN. About a year and a half ago.

Mr. BARKER. In addition to yourself, and you admitted you were a Communist.

Mr. DOLSEN. I am, absolutely.

Mr. BARKER. There was Mr. Burnstein, who was a teacher, and Mr. Wicker, who was director of the project.

Mr. DOLSEN. At one time he was.

Mr. BARKER. And in Pittsburgh, Pa., as director of the whole project was Cary White.

Mr. DOLSEN. I know Cary White was director——

Mr. THOMAS. Speak louder.

Mr. DOLSEN. I know Cary White was director for the whole State——

Mr. DEMPSEY. What became of Mr. Lawry?

Mr. DOLSEN. What became of Mr. Lawry?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. He was appointed at the solicitation of the Democratic organization in Pittsburgh to be census director of the city of Pittsburgh.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He is in charge of the district as census director?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. DUNN (Congressman from Pennsylvania). May I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. We cannot permit interruptions at this time.

Mr. DUNN. It is on that subject, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry is still in Pittsburgh, then?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; he is.

Mr. BARKER. He is still president of the International Workers Order?

Mr. DOLSEN. He is, but, of course, Mr. Lawry is not a Communist.

Mr. BARKER. You say he is not?

Mr. DOLSEN. I know he has lots of differences with us.

Mr. BARKER. Going back to Cary White, he was a Communist, was he not, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not believe that he was. That question or something similar was asked me several times; I do not know Cary White personally. I think I met him several times.

Mr. BARKER. Did you know he was candidate for Governor of Virginia on the Communist ticket?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; but I did hear he was a candidate on the Socialist Party ticket some years ago. I just heard this rumor; I cannot say

anything about it one way or the other. I can say this, that I am quite certain that Cary White was not a Communist.

Mr. BARKER. Was not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; but you know I cannot state it from absolute knowledge, but my own impression.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, did you attend Communist Party meetings regularly in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. I certainly do.

Mr. BARKER. You do?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. How many units of the Communist Party are there in Allegheny County, do you know?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I do not know. I think that there are about 40 or 50.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Nate Alberts?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do; yes.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Dolly Gainer?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Both of those people are Communists?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now——

Mr. DOLSEN (interposing). So far as I know they are members of the Communist Party; whether they have any membership book I will say I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, have you ever been with them in branch meetings of the party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I have; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you say?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. They would not be in any branch meeting if they were not members of the party, would they?

Mr. DOLSEN. They might be and they might not.

The CHAIRMAN. As a general proposition they would not be?

Mr. DOLSEN. As a general proposition they would not be. Still I would like to ask the committee what is the purpose of asking these particular types of questions, if you are going to run through 400 or 500 names——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). If you supply us with a correct membership list, you will save us the necessity of going through it. Our difficulty has been that we have never been able to secure from your party or any branch of it any membership list of its members, because the membership list has either disappeared or placed beyond the reach of anyone.

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Dies, I would like to state, in reply to your question, that no working-class organization I know of will supply your committee with a list of their members, and they have to guard the record with the safety measures to do so.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, is George Edward Powers, of Pittsburgh, a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. Is he?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. Is that the same as George Powers?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. If he is George Powers, he is the district secretary of the party in the western Pennsylvania district.

Mr. BARKER. What position does Martin Young hold in the Communist Party of Allegheny County?

Mr. DOLSEN. Martin Young, I believe, was secretary.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, I believe you said that you were former secretary of the Communist Party in Allegheny County?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. BARKER. And also former secretary of the Workers Alliance?

Mr. DOLSEN. I was secretary-treasurer.

Mr. BARKER. You were secretary-treasurer?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Until about 6 months ago?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Sonia Strauss?

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Chairman, this is all in a whole long list of names of individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the Chair is going to rule you have to answer these questions. That is very material if you know whether a given person's name is the name of a member of the party. If you do not know, you can so state, but that is certainly material to our inquiry, and it is a perfectly fair question.

Mr. DOLSEN. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer such questions. That is all. I do not think this committee has any authority to—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). It is not a question of what you think about it. We have been very indulgent with you, and this certainly gets down to a material question involved. You have qualified yourself as being in a position to know. You have been in the party. You are a charter member of the party, and you have been in the Pittsburgh area for a long time. You have sat in party meetings with many people. Now, all Mr. Barker is asking you is if you know whether a certain person is a member of the party, and you can certainly answer that question.

Mr. DOLSEN. I am replying to you, Mr. Dies, that the Communist Party in America is not yet an outlaw organization.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not a thing to do—

Mr. DOLSEN (interposing). And, consequently, a committee investigating subversive activities has no right to inquire into that.

The CHAIRMAN. We are not asking you what we ought to do or ought not to do.

Mr. DOLSEN. I decline to answer those questions.

Mr. THOMAS. This committee has been very indulgent with this witness all day long. He has continued to refuse to answer many important questions of the committee. I think that our patience has gone far enough, and I think he ought to be cited for contempt, and I am going to now move that he be cited.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait until we get the record clear. What is your question of the witness?

Mr. BARKER. My question was, Do you know Sonia Strauss?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee is sitting as a subcommittee composed of Mr. Dempsey, the chairman, and Mr. Thomas. Ask your question.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, do you know Sonia Strauss?

Mr. DOLSEN. I know Sonia Strauss.

Mr. BARKER. Is she a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Ask the next question.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Joseph Chandler?

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair is requiring you to answer these questions.

Mr. DOLSEN. I understand.

The CHAIRMAN. And you decline to answer them?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you answer this question: Did you ever sit in a Communist meeting with Sonia Strauss?

Mr. DOLSEN. I decline to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer the question and you decline?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with some more of the questions.

Mr. DOLSEN. Of course, Mr. Chairman, my reasons are my standing on the constitutional grounds that this committee has no right to require this information of me.

Mr. LYNCH. Of course, the Constitution gives no such right, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with your next question.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Joseph Chandler?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do know him.

Mr. BARKER. You do know him?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. He is a former C. I. O. organizer at New Kensington, Pa.?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether he was a C. I. O. organizer or not.

Mr. BARKER. Is he a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I have not seen him for a long time, and I do not know where he is.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Alec Steinberg?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do.

Mr. BARKER. He is chairman of one of the units of the Communist Party in Allegheny County, is he not?

Mr. DOLSEN. Not that I know of.

Mr. BARKER. Is he a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I decline to state.

Mr. BARKER. You decline to answer?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer the question, and you decline to answer it?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed with the others.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Abe Strauss?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do.

Mr. BARKER. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. He is.

Mr. BARKER. You know Carl Hacker; I know you know Carl Hacker.

Mr. DOLSEN. I certainly do.

Mr. BARKER. He is a Communist, is he not?

Mr. DOLSEN. He was a Communist, but is on pretty bad terms with the party now.

Mr. BARKER. He was former president of the Hotel and Restaurant Men's Association in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. In Pittsburgh, that is right.

Mr. BARKER. Did you know Fred Abbott, alias Berkowitz?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did know him.

Mr. BARKER. He was director of the Communist Workers' School in Pittsburgh.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right, he was.

Mr. BARKER. You were a teacher at that school at one time, weren't you, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, sir.

Mr. BARKER. You were not on the staff?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, here is a letter. It has on it "Pittsburgh Workers' School, Pittsburgh, Pa.," dated November 29, 1938.

*Dear Faculty member:*

You are cordially invited to attend a faculty dinner on Friday nite at 5:30 p. m. in the library.

A brief discussion on the January term, led by John Steuben, will follow the dinner.

Fraternally,

FRED ABBOTT BERKOWITZ.

Copy of the above letter addressed to George Anderson, 1000 N. Highland Ave., Pgh., Pa.; Lloyd Brown, 3047 Centre Ave., Pittsburgh, Pa.; J. Dolsen, 206 Stanwyx St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Did you get that letter, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. This is November 29, 1938. I can't say whether I did or not, because I don't recall it, but I know I was invited to one of their meetings. I was not a member of the faculty.

Mr. BARKER. You were not a member of their faculty?

Mr. DOLSEN. No, sir; I was not a member of their faculty.

Mr. BARKER. Your former address was 206 Stanwyx Street?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. THOMAS. What does it say there about John Steuben?

Mr. BARKER. "A brief discussion on the January term, led by John Steuben, will follow the dinner."

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know John Steuben?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do know him.

Mr. THOMAS. You do know him?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Was John Steuben a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. He was.

Mr. THOMAS. He was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you know John Steuben also testified before the La Follette Committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. Pardon me?

Mr. THOMAS. Did you know that John Steuben was one of the star witnesses before the La Follette Committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not know that.

Mr. THOMAS. You do not know whether he testified before the La Follette committee?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I did not.

Mr. THOMAS. But you do know that he was a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, do you know Fred Haug, national organizer for the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I know him.

Mr. BARKER. I believe you testified that Mr. C. V. Wicker was in charge of adult-education projects in Allegheny County for W. P. A. was a Communist at one time?

Mr. DOLSEN. At one time he was; yes.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, here is a letter from Mr. Fred Haug, national organizer for this union, addressed to Mr. Wicker, in which he gives the names of five persons who would like to receive the course in Summer Institute for Trade Unionists in Pittsburgh. That was a W. P. A. project, do you recall, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. The school for trade unionists?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know whether there was any particular school for trade unionists or not, because they had different W. P. A. schools. I do not know that any was called a school. It was a college class, maybe. What year was that?

Mr. BARKER. 1938.

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not recall that.

Mr. BARKER. At that time you were a teacher?

Mr. DOLSEN. Right; that is right; I was a teacher then.

Mr. BARKER. And Burnstein was a teacher?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And Wicker was in charge of the project?

Mr. DOLSEN. At that time; yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, did you know Sylvia Schlessinger?

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell that?

Mr. BARKER. S-c-h-l-e-s-s-i-n-g-e-r.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I knew her.

Mr. BARKER. Is she a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know. I know she is a lawyer there in Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever sit with her in a branch meeting?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever sit with her in a Communist meeting?

Mr. DOLSEN. Only a public meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. A public meeting held by the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. Under Communist auspices, but anybody could go there, you see.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, do you know Mr. Charles T. Bates, regional director of the National Labor Relations Board of Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. I did not know him personally, just by hearing him. I heard him talk.

Mr. BARKER. You heard him talk?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; but I did not know him personally.

Mr. BARKER. Where?

Mr. DOLSEN. I think he talked to our teachers' project at one time on the work of the National Labor Relations Board.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever attend any other meetings with him?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I did not.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever sit in any other meeting with him of any kind?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I did not.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, did you have any contact with Miss Eleanor Morrison, State director of the W. P. A. Workers Education?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; she used to come down and visit our project once in awhile.

Mr. BARKER. Allegheny County?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right. She had that under her supervision. She had to come to see how everything was going.

Mr. BARKER. Is she a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. She is not.

Mr. BARKER. She is definitely not a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. Absolutely not.

Mr. BARKER. And is not a sympathizer with the Communist Party?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not think so; not very much.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever hear her say in Pittsburgh that the Communists need not have any fear that they would be fired from any projects she was working on?

Mr. DOLSEN. I heard her say that no Communist or anybody for any political participation would ever be fired as long as they did their job right, they would not be fired from their job, because those were the regulations of the W. P. A., and they were to be lived up to.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Mrs. Helen Smith, in charge of workers' education on W. P. A.?

Mr. DOLSEN. I heard her lecture and speak in Pittsburgh several times.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, did you attend a meeting held for the benefit of returned veterans of the Abraham Lincoln brigade at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Mike Durco in Swissvale?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know.

Mr. BARKER. Did you know that they were raising funds for the relief of returned members of the Abraham Lincoln brigade?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not remember that particular affair, but I know money was being raised for them. It was being raised all over the country at that time.

Mr. BARKER. Fred Abbott Berkowitz, in Pittsburgh, is a Communist, is he?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; he was one.

Mr. BARKER. The attorney for the Communist Party in Allegheny County is who?

Mr. DOLSEN. Arthur Rack.

Mr. BARKER. Arthur Rack?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. He is in the Law & Finance Building in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. C. V. Wicker is still associated with the W. P. A. in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; he has not been for a long time.

Mr. BARKER. You are on the literature committee—chairman of the literature committee of the Communist Party in Allegheny County at the present time?

Mr. DOLSEN. I am literature agent.

Mr. BARKER. You are literature agent of the Communist Party in Allegheny County—that is, the whole county?

Mr. DOLSEN. Western Pennsylvania.

Mr. BARKER. That is, the western part of the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. BARKER. How many pieces of literature were distributed in 1938 in western Pennsylvania, do you know, Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know. All that I know about is after October of this year.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, here is a report of the literature committee of the Communist Party, tenth convention.

Mr. DOLSEN. What is the date of that?

Mr. BARKER. May 26, 1938.

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know anything about that.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever see one of these documents before [indicating]?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I never did. No; I never saw one of them. You see, I was not—I had nothing to do with literature at that time. I never saw one of those before.

Mr. BARKER. This shows for western Pennsylvania that the distribution of literature for western Pennsylvania amounted to 33,866 pieces in 1937.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes. Well, you see, I can't say anything about it, because I had nothing to do with that at that time.

Mr. BARKER. You never saw one of those reports before?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I never saw one of those reports before.

Mr. BARKER. And that the use of pamphlets published in 1936, 1937, and 1938 amounted to a total of 338,050, here on page 10.

Mr. DOLSEN. That was evidently for the whole country.

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Have you held the position of party organizer for Allegheny County, Pa.?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I never have.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know who the secretaries are of the various units of the Communist Party in Allegheny County?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I do not.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know who the chairmen are of the various units of the Communist Party in Allegheny County?

Mr. DOLSEN. I know in some individual cases who the chairmen are.

Mr. BARKER. Will you state the ones you do know?

Mr. DOLSEN. If the committee please, I decline to answer that kind of a question on the same basis as I declined the others.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee understands that you decline to state who the chairmen are, the ones that you know in the various units of the Communist Party in Allegheny County.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you also decline to answer the question as to who the section organizers are?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right also.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who they are?

Mr. DOLSEN. In some cases I do.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to give the committee the names of any of them?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Barker.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Dolsen, did you ever attend any of the lectures and discussions at the Communist Workers School in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. A few of them.

Mr. BARKER. You did?

Mr. DOLSEN. A few of them; yes.

Mr. BARKER. Did you attend the meeting on March 11, 1939, of the Communist Workers School in Pittsburgh?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know. I can't say. What was discussed there, have you got it?

Mr. BARKER. Well, it was a victory celebration under the chairmanship of Martin Young, and you have identified Mr. Young. It was the reopening of the school. The school had been closed.

Mr. DOLSEN. I imagine I was there, but I do not recall it, you see.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Matt Snyder?

Mr. DOLSEN. I met him several times. I do not know where he is now. I have not seen him for a long time.

Mr. BARKER. Is he a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, he was at the time I knew him.

Mr. BARKER. He was at the time you knew him?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. What about Sarah Filner?

Mr. DOLSEN. You mean—what is your question about her?

Mr. BARKER. Is she a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I suppose she is. She is the wife of the secretary of the party in Pittsburgh.

Mr. BARKER. Yes, of course; Herman Filner is secretary?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Mrs. Helen Smith?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I know her.

Mr. BARKER. You know her?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Is she a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I am quite sure she is not.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Mary Hoffman?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Is Mary Hoffman a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. I do not know that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever sit in a branch meeting with Mary Hoffman?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your answer?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever sit in any Communist meeting with her?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; that is what you just asked me and the answer was "no."

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Rev. Udora P. Leeth?

Mr. DOLSEN. I believe I met him one time. I believe he is a Methodist minister.

Mr. BARKER. He is a Presbyterian.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I got the congregations mixed up.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever sit in any meetings with him?

Mr. DOLSEN. No; I think I met him one time. I am not sure.

Mr. BARKER. How many units are there in the Communist Party in Allegheny County?

Mr. DOLSEN. That question was asked. I said between 40 and 50.

Mr. BARKER. Would you mind again telling us the number?

Mr. DOLSEN. No. I said before I thought there was between 40 and 50.

Mr. BARKER. Between 40 and 50?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. I might say for the record that John Steuben who this witness testified was a member of the Communist Party or that he had been a member of the Communist Party has testified before the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee on three different dates, August 5, 1938, July 27, 1938, and August 2, 1938. I would like to just get that in the record at this point.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dolsen, you testified, if I recall correctly, before the lunch recess that at the time you left for China that you thought you were going there as a representative of the "Red Aid"?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And your transportation was paid by that organization?

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, my transportation from America.

Mr. LYNCH. To China?

Mr. DOLSEN. And from Moscow, going as Red Aid representative to China, my wages and expenses were paid by the International Red Aid in Moscow.

Mr. LYNCH. You knew at the time you left here in 1926 that you were going as a representative of the Red Aid?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And they paid your expenses?

Mr. DOLSEN. As I say, the American Communist Party paid my expenses to Moscow.

Mr. LYNCH. You first went to China?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You first went to Moscow?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. How long did you stay in Moscow before you went to China?

Mr. DOLSEN. Let me make it plain.

Mr. LYNCH. That is, when you left in 1926.

Mr. DOLSEN. I went from New York City to Moscow.

Mr. LYNCH. And then from Moscow to China, Peking?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. I show you your passport application which was sworn to by you on the 10th day of March 1926 in Chicago. That is where you got your passport?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. On that passport application it says: I desire the passport for use in visiting the countries hereinafter named for the following purposes.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And you wrote in there British Isles and tour around the world, in your own handwriting.

Mr. DOLSEN. Correct.

Mr. LYNCH. And the object of your visit was travel.

Mr. DOLSEN. I did travel.

Mr. LYNCH. I know you had to travel to get anywhere, from one point to another.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Your real object was to teach, too, was it not?

Mr. DOLSEN. It was to travel and teach.

Mr. LYNCH. And to act as the representative of the Red Aid, is that not correct?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. I think for the purpose of the record we ought to ask him specifically to disclose the name of the man that he said had this membership certificate issued to him, and then if he declines to answer, I will ask the Chair to direct him to answer, and we will have it very clearly in the record in this case.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair has considered that very carefully. Here is the case of a member of the Communist Party using the name of the President of the United States, using that name as a party name, apparently with the consent of the Communist Party, or, at least, without any objection, and the Chair thinks that it is material to find out who did that, because, manifestly, if that practice is permitted it is very much against public interest. The Chair directs you to answer that question as to the name of the person who gave the name Franklin D. Roosevelt for party purposes.

Mr. DOLSEN. Well, I will have to state to the committee that on the previous grounds I decline to give that information.

The CHAIRMAN. You have admitted that you were the one that printed the name or wrote the name Franklin D. Roosevelt in that book.

Mr. DOLSEN. I stated that fully to the committee and the members of the committee and I think to a Secret Service agent here this noontime.

The CHAIRMAN. Louder, Mr. Witness.

Mr. THOMAS. Louder!

Mr. DOLSEN. I stated that to the members of the committee, and I stated it to a Secret Service agent—I forget what his name was—who said he represented the President, these same circumstances before, and I have nothing to add to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have admitted that you know who the person is.

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; I have admitted that I know who the person is.

The CHAIRMAN. What his true name is.

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, the witness has declined to answer that question and has also declined to give the names of section organizers, when he has admitted that he knows who some of them are, and he

has refused to answer whether certain persons were members of the Communist Party and whether or not he had ever sat in branch meetings with these persons. This committee has been unable to get any membership list of the Communist Party, either because the membership lists were destroyed or placed beyond our reach. It becomes material to know who these members are and what their true names are, and for that reason the Chair has directed the witness to answer those questions, being material to this inquiry.

This information becomes material for a number of reasons. One is that this committee has information that Soviet Union spies are operating in the United States for the purpose of securing military and industrial secrets, and it manifestly is a matter of great importance to know who these members are. Therefore, it is the Chair's ruling that the witness be cited in contempt for his refusal to answer questions, that the matter be handled by the attorney in the statutory manner, and that we make an issue of this at this point, because if witnesses of the Communist Party or Fascist groups or Nazi groups refuse to divulge the names of their members, then the investigation is greatly handicapped. For that reason, Mr. Attorney, with the consent of the subcommittee the Chair so rules.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, I move that the committee authorize that the matter be taken up with the United States district attorney's office for the District of Columbia for prosecution of this witness for refusal to answer. If the committee passes on that, I will submit the record to them when it is written up.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I so move, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. THOMAS. Before a vote is taken, it is my understanding that the committee first cites the witness to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and if it is not a matter to come before the district attorney he so rules, and if it is it is referred to him.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, a motion has been made that contempt proceedings be instituted against this witness in the statutory manner and in accordance with existing law. All those in favor of the motion say "aye"; opposed "no." The ayes have it. So that is the order of the committee.

Are there any more questions, Mr. Counsel? If not, we will stand adjourned. The witness will remain under subpoena until notified that he is discharged. The committee stands adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

(Thereupon, at 3:45 p. m., the committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

(The committee met at 10 a. m., the Honorable Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.)

Present: Representatives Mason, Thomas, and Voorhis.

Present also: Robert Lynch, counsel to the committee; and J. B. Matthews, special investigator for the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. There not being a quorum present of the full committee, the Chair appoints a subcommittee composed of the Chair, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Voorhis to proceed until we can secure the attendance of the full committee.

Mr. Powers, will you please come around, you and your attorney?

I find I will have to make a slight change for the purpose of hearing this witness. The subcommittee to open the hearing will be composed of the Chair, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Dempsey.

The Chair wants to ask a few preliminary questions of the witness, and then Mr. Lynch will proceed with the examination.

## STATEMENT OF GEORGE POWERS, PITTSBURGH, PA., MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is what?

Mr. POWERS. George Powers.

The CHAIRMAN. George Powers?

Mr. POWERS. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. P-o-w-e-r-s?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Powers?

Mr. POWERS. At 1838 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh.

The CHAIRMAN. How long have you lived in Pittsburgh?

Mr. POWERS. In and around Pittsburgh for the last 7 or 8 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Seven or eight years?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made Pittsburgh your headquarters and residence during that period?

Mr. POWERS. Well, yes: Pittsburgh and nearby Pittsburgh. I have lived in smaller nearby communities.

The CHAIRMAN. You considered that your home during that period?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. POWERS. I was born in the Soviet Union.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. POWERS. Soviet Union, in Russia.

The CHAIRMAN. What year were you born there?

Mr. POWERS. In 1905.

The CHAIRMAN. 1905?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you emigrate to the United States?

Mr. POWERS. In 1923.

The CHAIRMAN. Under what name did you come to the United States?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your true name?

Mr. POWERS. This is my true name, my legal name.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your name before you adopted the name of Powers?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall. I answered that.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall?

Mr. POWERS. I was young, and we legally changed our name.

Mr. THOMAS. Young? Eighteen years?

The CHAIRMAN. What year did you have your name changed?

Mr. POWERS. Soon after I got here.

The CHAIRMAN. After 1923?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it 2 or 3 years after that?

Mr. POWERS. No. I don't recall exactly how soon it was; quite soon after I came.

The CHAIRMAN. Quite soon after you came, but you don't recall just when?

Mr. POWERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your father's name?

Mr. POWERS. The first name was Samuel.

The CHAIRMAN. Samuel what?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know your father's name?

Mr. POWERS. I don't. I haven't seen him—the last I saw him was in 1911, I believe, or 1910, I don't recollect.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't heard from your father since that time?

Mr. POWERS. Well, I saw him about 12 or 13 years ago.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the last time you have seen or heard from him?

Mr. POWERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know now, or you didn't know his last name at that time, 12 years ago?

Mr. POWERS. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you come to the United States, as a permanent resident?

Mr. POWERS. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come to this country for permanent residence?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you come by yourself or were you accompanied by your parents?

Mr. POWERS. My mother.

The CHAIRMAN. Your mother came with you?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other members of your family besides your mother?

Mr. POWERS. Two brothers.

The CHAIRMAN. Sir?

Mr. POWERS. Two brothers.

The CHAIRMAN. Your mother is still in the United States?

Mr. POWERS. She is dead.

The CHAIRMAN. What year did she die, approximately?

Mr. POWERS. 1932.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1932?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what her name was?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was her name?

Mr. POWERS. Her name was Toub.

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. POWERS. T-o-u-b.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the last name or the first name?

Mr. POWERS. The first name.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the last name?

Mr. POWERS. The same as mine.

The CHAIRMAN. What was her name before it was changed to Powers?

Mr. POWERS. I wouldn't know.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know?

Mr. POWERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Was her name changed to Powers?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know if it was or not; mine was.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You say her name was the same as yours?

Mr. POWERS. That is the name she went by.

Mr. DEMPSEY. But you don't know whether hers was legally changed?

Mr. POWERS. Whether hers was legally changed, I don't.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In what court did you have yours legally changed?

Mr. POWERS. I believe it was in Duluth, Minn.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You believe so? Don't you know something as important as that? You don't recall?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall exactly.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What year was that?

Mr. POWERS. It must have been around 1923 or 1924.

The CHAIRMAN. When you came to the United States, how old were you?

Mr. POWERS. As I stated, I was born in 1905 and came in in 1923. You can figure it out.

The CHAIRMAN. You were 18 years of age when you came to this country?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you become an American citizen by naturalization?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What year did you take out your citizenship papers?

Mr. POWERS. I didn't have to take out my citizenship papers, by virtue of the fact that I was underage and my father was a citizen, so I automatically became a citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. Your father was a citizen of the United States?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know when he became a citizen of the United States?

Mr. POWERS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know what year he became a citizen?

Mr. POWERS. I imagine it must have been before the war.

The CHAIRMAN. By naturalization, did he not?

Mr. POWERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. When you came to the United States did you enter school or a university?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir; I never went to school.

The CHAIRMAN. You never went to school in the United States?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What has been your occupation since you came to the United States?

Mr. POWERS. Well, I worked for quite a long time in the automobile industry.

The CHAIRMAN. Beginning with what year?

Mr. POWERS. With practically the day I came in.

The CHAIRMAN. Some time in 1923?

Mr. POWERS. I went to work the next day.

The CHAIRMAN. What automobile company did you go to work for?

Mr. POWERS. I worked for the Ford Motor Co., Twin Cities.

The CHAIRMAN. The Ford Motor Co. at Twin Cities?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you work for the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. POWERS. About a year or so. I worked for Swift & Armour.

The CHAIRMAN. Following that?

Mr. POWERS. I think prior to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You first went to work for the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. POWERS. No; I worked for Ford Motor Co. during that period. I don't recall exactly whether I worked there first or last.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the period beginning here in 1923?

Mr. POWERS. Well, the first place I worked was in Duluth, also in an automobile shop.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see if I can get it straight. I understood you to say that when you came to the United States, the next day you went to work?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What company did you go to work for?

Mr. POWERS. I worked for an automobile company in Duluth, Minn. I don't recall the name of the company. It has been a long time. Let me see if I can think of it. No; I can't think of it.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you work for that company at Duluth, Minn.?

Mr. POWERS. For about a year, I imagine.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity did you work there?

Mr. POWERS. Laborer.

The CHAIRMAN. Skilled laborer?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a day laborer?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the next company you worked for?

Mr. POWERS. I worked for a company in St. Paul, Minn., an automobile company.

The CHAIRMAN. St. Paul, Minn.?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Another one?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you recall the name of that company?

Mr. POWERS. No; I can't. It was a small outfit. I worked for a third one, small shop; I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. In St. Paul?

Mr. POWERS. That is right. Following that I worked for Swift & Armour Co.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be beginning about what year?

Mr. POWERS. I figure it should be around 1924, the latter part of 1924.

The CHAIRMAN. The latter part of 1924 you started working for the Swift Co. What was your work there?

Mr. POWERS. Laboring.

The CHAIRMAN. What town was that?

Mr. POWERS. The same city, St. Paul.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you work for that company?

Mr. POWERS. Several months.

The CHAIRMAN. Seven months?

Mr. POWERS. Several months, 3 or 4. I don't recall the exact time.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you went to work for Ford?

Mr. POWERS. Yes. I think around that time I worked for Ford Motor. Following that job I held a job in the Ford Motor Co., the Twin Cities plant.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you work for the Ford Motor Co.?

Mr. POWERS. I can't recall. Not very long. I imagine for 8 or 9 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Eight or 9 months?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what was the next company you worked for?

Mr. POWERS. Following that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. POWERS. I was unemployed for quite a long time.

The CHAIRMAN. Beginning with what year were you unemployed?

Mr. POWERS. 1927—1926 or 1927.

The CHAIRMAN. Either 1926 or 1927 you were unemployed and continued to be unemployed for how many years?

Mr. POWERS. I was unemployed for about a year.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you went to work for what company?

Mr. POWERS. For the U. S. Bedding Co.

The CHAIRMAN. Beg pardon?

Mr. COHN. U. S. Bedding Co.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you work for that company?

Mr. POWERS. Off and on—I worked two or three times. I don't recall. I worked for about a year.

The CHAIRMAN. About a year altogether?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Can you state the next company you went to work for?

Mr. POWERS. That is all I worked. I have worked for——

The CHAIRMAN. That carries you into 1927.

Mr. POWERS. About 1928.

The CHAIRMAN. 1928?

Mr. POWERS. 1927 or 1928.

The CHAIRMAN. From that period on you have been unemployed?

Mr. POWERS. I worked for a while for the Bethlehem Steel Co.; late in 1933, I believe it was.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you work for them?

Mr. POWERS. A few weeks.

The CHAIRMAN. With the exception of the Bethlehem Steel Co., have you been unemployed since 1928?

Mr. POWERS. Well, I wouldn't call it unemployed. I have been working for the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, you haven't worked for any industry or have any occupation outside of the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. No; no industry. And I worked for other labor organizations, including the American Federation of Labor.

The CHAIRMAN. You worked for the American Federation of Labor?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And for the C. I. O.?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In what capacity have you worked for those organizations?

Mr. POWERS. At times as business agent; at times as organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you business agent for both unions?

Mr. POWERS. Not at any one time.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that you at one time were business agent for the A. F. of L.

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. What union?

Mr. POWERS. Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel and Tin Workers.

The CHAIRMAN. During what year were you business agent for that organization?

Mr. POWERS. During the period of 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. During 1933?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You were business agent?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever an organizer for the A. F. of L.?

Mr. POWERS. Well, it is similar to an organizer's job.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean the business agent covered both?

Mr. POWERS. That is right. It is a different term for organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, when did you become organizer for the C. I. O.?

Mr. POWERS. During the campaign in the steel industry in 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. During the year 1937?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Your work was confined to the steel industry?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Was your official title organizer or business agent?

Mr. POWERS. Organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you serve as organizer for the C. I. O.?

Mr. POWERS. From June 1936 to late August 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that the only connection you had with either one of the unions?

Mr. POWERS. No; I also worked for the Textile Workers' Union during the period of 1930, 1931, and part of 1932.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you stationed?

The CHAIRMAN. In Allentown, Pa.

The CHAIRMAN. You were an organizer for the Textile Union?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any other position you held in connection with any labor union?

Mr. POWERS. Yes. At one time—I wasn't a paid official, but I was an officer of the Building Trades of the A. F. of L.

The CHAIRMAN. Building Trades of the A. F. of L.?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What office would you call it?

Mr. POWERS. Well, I was their delegate to the Central Labor Union; I was their delegate to the State Federation of Labor convention in 1934; the Minnesota State Federation of Labor convention.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any other position or connection with any labor union besides the ones you have told us about?

Mr. POWERS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That covers your activities in the union?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a member of the Communist Party, are you?

Mr. POWERS. I am secretary of it.

The CHAIRMAN. I asked you if you are a member of it.

Mr. POWERS. Certainly——

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). When did you become a member of the Communist Party; what year?

Mr. POWERS. The middle of 1925, I believe.

The CHAIRMAN. In 1925?

Mr. POWERS. Early 1925.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you join the Communist Party; in what city were you?

Mr. POWERS. I joined in St. Paul, Minn.

The CHAIRMAN. St. Paul, Minn.?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you been continuously a member of the party since that period?

Mr. POWERS. Oh, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do your brothers live in the United States at the present time?

Mr. POWERS. I think that is a personal question. I don't think I should answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if your brothers live in the United States. You said they came to the United States with you.

Mr. POWERS. That is true; but I don't think I am here to give any information as to my brothers. I am here to testify as to communism in regard to myself. I don't think I should give any facts with regard to members of my family.

The CHAIRMAN. You are here to answer the questions the members of the committee ask you. You decline to answer the question as to whether or not your brothers are now in the United States?

Mr. COHN. May I say, Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait. Let me get your name.

Mr. COHN. My name is Sol H. Cohn. I am an attorney in New York City. I represent Mr. Powers.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the attorney of record for Mr. Powers?

Mr. COHN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. State your objection.

Mr. COHN. My objection to this question is that this delves into the private and personal life of the witness, and under the rule in the *Sinclair case* this committee has no right to go into private or personal matters.

The CHAIRMAN. I will frame the question this way: Are your brothers likewise members of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. COHN. May I say to the court that that objection similarly covers the personal question of the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, on advice of your counsel you decline to state whether or not your two brothers are members of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. COHN. He so declines.

Mr. LYNCH. Wait a minute. Let the witness do the declining.

Mr. POWERS. I decline.

Mr. LYNCH. Then I ask the Chair to direct him to answer.

Mr. COHN. You have it on record. He said he declines.

Mr. LYNCH. Wait a minute. I ask the Chairman to direct him to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a formality. The witness is instructed to answer to the question as to whether or not his two brothers are now members of the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. LYNCH. Repeat your answer.

Mr. POWERS. I decline to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in connection with the Communist Party—

Mr. LYNCH. Excuse me. Will the record show there is a quorum of the committee present when this question was asked?

The CHAIRMAN. When the Chair began the deliberations this morning, a subcommittee was appointed because we did not have a quorum present, but at the time this question was asked a full quorum is

present: Mr. Voorhis, Mr. Dempsey, the Chairman, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Mason.

You likewise decline to answer the question as to whether or not your brothers are now in the United States? I want the record to be complete on that. Is that true?

Mr. POWERS. I decline to give any information about anyone except myself.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking a direct question. You decline to state whether or not your brothers are now in the United States?

Mr. POWERS. I repeat. I decline to give any information about members of my family.

The CHAIRMAN. I want you to answer the direct question.

Mr. POWERS. Well——

The CHAIRMAN. We are asking you now about your brothers. You decline to answer whether or not your brothers are in the United States?

Mr. POWERS. I decline to give any information about members of my family. I consider that those are private matters.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, could we go back for a minute to one of these things?

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get something here; then we will go back in a moment.

You have been a member of the Communist Party since 1925. What official positions have you held in the Communist Party, starting with 1925 down to the present time?

Mr. POWERS. I was secretary of the party of North Carolina.

The CHAIRMAN. Secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that your first position?

Mr. POWERS. That was my first paid position.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to get any position, whether you were paid or not. After you joined in 1925, what was the first position that you held in the party outside of mere membership in the party?

Mr. POWERS. Well, I was probably secretary of branches of the party in various communities where I lived at, either in Duluth or St. Paul.

The CHAIRMAN. Wherever you lived you were secretary of the branches that you were a member of?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was there any other position before you were secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina outside of secretary of the branches?

Mr. POWERS. No. I was a member of certain committees, but I held no official position.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you became secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina, on what date?

Mr. POWERS. In January or February of 1929.

The CHAIRMAN. January or February of 1929?

Mr. POWERS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What town were you residing in at that time?

Mr. POWERS. You mean in North Carolina?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. POWERS. Charlotte, Winston-Salem.

The CHAIRMAN. Charlotte, N. C.?

Mr. POWERS. And Winston-Salem.

The CHAIRMAN. How long did you serve as secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina?

Mr. POWERS. For about a year.

The CHAIRMAN. For about a year?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you at that time active in the textile union?

Mr. POWERS. Well, it all depends on how you understand the word "active." I was not an organizer for the textile union, but I knew textile workers, many of them who were in the party. I met with them, discussed their problems with them.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a paid position, the first paid position you held with the party?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. At the time that you were secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina, how many members did you have in the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. I can't recall that. It was a long time ago. It has been over 10 years. We probably had several hundred members in the State.

The CHAIRMAN. How many?

Mr. POWERS. About two or three hundred.

The CHAIRMAN. Members in the State?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were they mostly located, in and around Charlotte and Winston-Salem?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. After that, what was your next position with the Communist Party? By the way, before I get to that, what were your duties as secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina?

Mr. POWERS. My duties as secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina were to manage the affairs of the party, to meet with people—

The CHAIRMAN. Manage the affairs of the party?

Mr. POWERS. That is right, in a political sense.

The CHAIRMAN. You did what with people?

Mr. POWERS. Met with people, discussed problems.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have custody of the records and books of the Communist Party of North Carolina?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir; we didn't have any records at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. You kept no records?

Mr. POWERS. Not at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you keep any membership records?

Mr. POWERS. In the South, in 1929?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. POWERS. I think the chairman of this committee can tell you you couldn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Listen; I am asking you a question.

Mr. POWERS. I am answering in my own way.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't keep any membership record whatsoever; is that right?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. When anyone joined the party you issued a book; is that correct?

Mr. POWERS. No; I didn't.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone issue a book?

Mr. POWERS. Yes. We had a person in charge to issue books.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the position of that person, what was he called?

Mr. POWERS. He worked in the office, a stenographer and typist.

The CHAIRMAN. Stenographer in the office?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. He had charge of issuing books to the members?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those books signed by you as secretary?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Who collected the dues, you or the stenographer in the office?

Mr. POWERS. No; we had a person separately in charge of collecting dues.

The CHAIRMAN. Another person in the office?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that another stenographer?

Mr. POWERS. No; we had a financial secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. You had a financial secretary who had charge of collecting dues?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no record, however, for the party or for your own benefit or that of anyone else of the names of those who were members of the party?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You made no record?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you know who were members, through memory?

Mr. POWERS. Yes, we had to remember those things, because in the South at the time they had a tremendous amount of terror against the union, against labor organizations; people were lynched, tarred and feathered, meetings were broken up. I guess you know about it as much as I do.

The CHAIRMAN. After you were secretary of the Communist Party of North Carolina—you held that about a year, I believe you said?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your next position with the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. I worked in Philadelphia after that.

The CHAIRMAN. After you left North Carolina you went to Philadelphia?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you become secretary of the party in Philadelphia?

Mr. POWERS. No; I secured work with the Trade Union Unity League.

The CHAIRMAN. Trade Union Unity League?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your position with that organization?

Mr. POWERS. I was secretary of the Philadelphia organization.

The CHAIRMAN. What position with the Communist Party did you hold, if any, during that period?

Mr. POWERS. Sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any position with the Communist Party itself during that period?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You were just a member of the party in Philadelphia?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Was the Trade Union Unity League affiliated with the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were its members composed largely of Communists?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What percentage of the membership were Communists and what percentage non-Communists?

Mr. POWERS. I can't recollect now. I can't say what percentage were members of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you in Philadelphia?

Mr. POWERS. I worked in Philadelphia and nearby for about 2½ years.

The CHAIRMAN. And during that period you had no official position with the Communist Party, or in the Communist Party, during that 2½ year period?

Mr. POWERS. Not during the period I worked around the Philadelphia district.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I believe you said that was 2½ years.

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. During that period did you go other places or were you there most of the time?

Mr. POWERS. I was there practically all the time.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no position with the Communist Party anywhere during that period? I mean, outside of Philadelphia.

Mr. POWERS. Not during the time I worked with the Trade Union Unity League.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that was for a period of 2½ years?

Mr. POWERS. About.

The CHAIRMAN. Then after the lapse of that 2½ years, where did you go?

Mr. POWERS. I worked in Baltimore, Md.

The CHAIRMAN. What position with the Communist Party did you hold, if any, in Baltimore?

Mr. POWERS. I held no position with the Communist Party there.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your work?

Mr. POWERS. My work was to organize the steel workers of the Bethlehem Steel Co.

The CHAIRMAN. To organize workers of the Bethlehem Steel Co.?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Who paid you during that time?

Mr. POWERS. The Steel and Metal Workers' Union.

The CHAIRMAN. The Steel and Metal Workers' Union paid you?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you there approximately?

Mr. POWERS. I was there up until about the middle of 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that union an affiliate of the Trade Union Unity League at that time?

Mr. POWERS. At first it was.

The CHAIRMAN. After you left Baltimore and ceased your connection with this union, where did you go?

Mr. POWERS. I went to the Pittsburgh district.

The CHAIRMAN. Pittsburgh district. And you have been in Pittsburgh ever since?

Mr. POWERS. Ever since.

The CHAIRMAN. Your position is now what with the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. It is secretary of the district organization.

The CHAIRMAN. When were you made secretary of the district organization?

Mr. POWERS. About 6 months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. About 6 months ago?

Mr. POWERS. Let me see. To be exact, the latter part of October.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me; I didn't get that.

Mr. POWERS. The latter part of October.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to the time you were made secretary of the district organization, what position, if any, did you hold in the Communist Party of Pittsburgh? You have been there about 7 years; you have been secretary of the district organization 6 or 7 months. What position, if any, did you have with the party before then?

Mr. POWERS. Well, I didn't hold any official position, but I worked for the party. I helped along with the work in the Pittsburgh district.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive a salary from the party?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no official position, however?

Mr. POWERS. Well, part of the time I worked for the C. I. O. That was during the 1936-37 period.

The CHAIRMAN. You worked for the C. I. O.?

Mr. POWERS. For a little over a year.

The CHAIRMAN. You were working for the C. I. O. and the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. Oh, no; no, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time you were working for the C. I. O. you were not working for the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct. As a matter of fact, I was out of the State for some time.

The CHAIRMAN. You were what?

Mr. POWERS. I was out of the State entirely for some time.

The CHAIRMAN. How long—

Mr. POWERS. I was sent into Kentucky.

The CHAIRMAN. You went where?

Mr. POWERS. To Kentucky.

The CHAIRMAN. That was during the 7-year period that you spoke about?

Mr. POWERS. That was during the period of 1936-37.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did you go in Kentucky?

Mr. POWERS. Ashland.

The CHAIRMAN. What did you say?

Mr. POWERS. Ashland.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you go there on some mission for the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. No; I went there as a representative of the C. I. O.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose?

Mr. POWERS. For the purpose of organizing the American Rolling Mills.

The CHAIRMAN. Organizing what?

Mr. POWERS. Organizing the American Rolling Mills in Ashland.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you there?

Mr. POWERS. Several months.

The CHAIRMAN. Several months?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time that you were organizing for the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L., were you paid by the union for that work?

Mr. POWERS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Your pay came from the union?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And had nothing to do with the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you have been secretary of the Communist Party since its organization of Pittsburgh—or of Allegheny County, is it?

Mr. POWERS. Well, it takes in several counties.

The CHAIRMAN. What counties are in the district you are secretary of?

Mr. POWERS. It takes in Allegheny, Washington, Green, Beaver, Mercer, Erie—practically the entire western part of the State.

The CHAIRMAN. What are your duties as secretary of the district organization?

Mr. POWERS. Just what do you mean?

The CHAIRMAN. You have—

Mr. POWERS. The same as the secretary of any other organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You have custody of the records?

Mr. POWERS. We have no records.

The CHAIRMAN. You keep no records of the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In the district that you are secretary of?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no membership records?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no record of receipts or disbursements?

Mr. POWERS. What receipts? You mean membership book receipts?

The CHAIRMAN. Membership receipts.

Mr. POWERS. No; we don't.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no record of that?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You make no record at the time payments are made?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you make no record of membership at the time someone becomes a member of the party?

Mr. POWERS. Are you asking me if I make any records?

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you if any record is kept.

Mr. POWERS. I am answering for myself.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, I will ask about you. Do you keep any records?

Mr. POWERS. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Does anyone under you?

Mr. POWERS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Who does that?

Mr. POWERS. People who are responsible for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Give the people who are responsible for it, first on the membership records.

Mr. POWERS. Membership records we don't have, but other receipts we do have.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have no one in the organization whose duty it is to keep a record of the membership in the party?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But you do have someone who has charge of keeping a record of the payments of dues, is that right?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is that person?

Mr. POWERS. On this problem, I would like to answer in the following way—

The CHAIRMAN. What problem?

Mr. POWERS. Answering your question. Mr. Dies, questioning Mr. Kunz, of Michigan, had the following to say—

The CHAIRMAN. You must be responsive in your answer.

Mr. POWERS. I am answering by the purpose of this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you. We don't want any dissertation from you about the duties or the functions of the committee.

Mr. POWERS. I know you don't.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you the direct question, who has charge. You have stated someone under you has charge of the records of the payment of membership dues.

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you the direct question—

Mr. COHN. May I—

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute, until I conclude. I am asking you this question, to state to the committee the name of such person.

Mr. POWERS. In the first place, these people are elected, you see. I was elected to this office and so are these people.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you that. You can either answer my question or decline to answer it.

Mr. POWERS. I am answering it in my own way, and I wish you would give me an opportunity to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not going to make an evasive statement here.

Mr. POWERS. I will not. I will answer the question. If you will give me a chance to explain, I will answer it, but I won't answer it just the way you want it. My privilege is to answer it the way I please.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you for the name of the person. If you have an explanation following that——

Mr. POWERS. If you are a little bit patient, I will answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you now the name of the person, and if you have any explanation following that you may give it.

Mr. POWERS. I will answer the question and after that answer has been made, if it is unsatisfactory, you may state so. I am willing to answer all questions here before this committee. The problem of our records, committees, names of people, membership, will be involved, and Mr. Dies has made it clear that he wants to blacklist those——

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, no; I won't stand for any such statement as that.

Mr. POWERS. I am not going to be a party to any blacklist. You have the wrong man here.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to treat this committee with some courtesy and respect.

Mr. POWERS. That is correct; I will.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you a question; state the name of the person under you in the organization who you testified was in charge of the record of the payment of dues. Now, answer that question.

Mr. POWERS. You see——

The CHAIRMAN. No; answer the question; the name of the person.

Mr. POWERS. I will not give you any names of any people, because you are trying to build up a blacklist.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. You are directed to answer——

Mr. POWERS. Because you are blacklisting. I will prove it by Martin Dies' statement.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that the witness has declined to answer the question asked by the chairman.

Mr. POWERS. Due to the fact that Mr. Dies is trying to blacklist our people in industry. That is why we are not going to supply ammunition for him, or Tom Girdler either.

The CHAIRMAN. No more volunteered statements.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, I want to raise a very serious question in connection with this witness. According to the testimony of this witness he came here from Russia with his mother and two brothers in 1923, when he was 18 years of age. He states under oath that he does not know the name that he went by. He states under oath that he didn't have to make application for citizenship papers of his own, but that he acquired citizenship by virtue of the fact that his father had taken out citizenship papers before he was 21 years of age, which would automatically make him a citizen. I insist that I have grave doubts about his citizenship, or whether his father was a citizen, and I think that ought to be at least gone into and proven, as to whether he is a citizen and entitled to the privileges of citizenship in this country.

Mr. POWERS. I am fully willing.

Mr. THOMAS. I raise that question.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, we will come to that.

I ask for the sake of the record if you have anyone else under you in the district organization of the Communist Party, in the district of which you are secretary, who is in charge of any records of the

Communist Party, outside of the one you already have testified to as regards dues payments.

Mr. POWERS. No; we have no one in charge of records, membership records.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have financial records?

Mr. POWERS. Financial, we do.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of the financial records—

Mr. POWERS. We don't have anyone in charge of any records of the party membership in the Pennsylvania district.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask you a further question; to explain to the committee what the district organization is; what does it consist of? You, first, as secretary—do you have a committee?

Mr. POWERS. Yes, we have. The district organization of the party functions according to our constitution. Our constitution provides that there be a district convention held regularly. At our last district convention, which was a little over a year ago, our district committee was elected, the same as committees are elected in other organizations, especially labor organizations. It was elected publicly. It consists of some 35 or 36 people. The district convention also elects the district secretary and the chairman of the district.

The CHAIRMAN. The district committee has some 30 or 35 people?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. They to some extent control your actions?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, you report to them?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. They selected you—

Mr. POWERS. No; the district convention selects me, but in between district conventions I am responsible to them for whatever action is taken in the district.

The CHAIRMAN. During the period during which the convention does not meet, the district committee has control?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are responsible to the committee?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state to the committee the names of the members, or as many members as you can, of the district committee?

Mr. POWERS. For fear of the blacklist, I will not state any.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed by the Chair to do so, and you decline to do so; is that correct?

Mr. POWERS. I consider your question answered.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. In addition to your district committee, you have section organizers, do you not?

Mr. POWERS. No; we do not. We had them before last September, but since September we have worked on a different policy. It is more or less voluntary work, taken care of by committees.

The CHAIRMAN. You mean that district organizers have been abolished in the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. No, no. You are confusing district organizers with section secretaries.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. POWERS. I am willing to clarify it if you will give me an opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, clarify it.

Mr. POWERS. You see, the district secretary of the party takes care of the entire district. Then each county has a county organization. The county organizations are entirely separate, and prior to September each county organization had a full-time paid organizer. Since September that system has been abolished. On the basis of our own experience we decided to do away with that, and, instead of county organizers, we have county organizations, the same as the Democratic and Republican Parties. There are county organizations taking care of the branches and whatever locals there are in that section.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any district organizer?

Mr. POWERS. I am the district organizer.

The CHAIRMAN. Anyone besides you?

Mr. POWERS. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the only district organizer?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. On this work?

Mr. POWERS. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have branches of the party in your district?

Mr. POWERS. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. How many branches do you have?

Mr. POWERS. Oh, over 130 or so.

The CHAIRMAN. One hundred and thirty branches?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the total membership in your district?

Mr. POWERS. I can't give you this information offhand; I wouldn't know. I know the approximate membership.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, what is the approximate membership?

Mr. POWERS. About 2,500.

The CHAIRMAN. About 2,500 in your district?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Does each branch have a secretary?

Mr. POWERS. I assume they have; yes. They should.

The CHAIRMAN. Each branch has a secretary. Do you know any of the secretaries of the branches in your district?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state to the committee the names of the secretaries of the branches that you know?

Mr. POWERS. Most of our secretaries work in mills and mines, and I will not turn over any names to such a committee as this.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to state the names of the secretaries of those branches, and you decline to do so?

Mr. POWERS. I decline to do so for the statement I made a minute ago. I decline to do so for reasons—

The CHAIRMAN. Have you since your arrival in the United States that you testified about ever—your first arrival; since that time have you ever returned to Russia?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never made any trip to Russia?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been out of the United States during that period?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Mr. Matthews will question you.

Mr. COHN. Mr. Chairman, may I ask by virtue of what authority Mr. Matthews becomes the questioner?

The CHAIRMAN. By virtue of the authority of this committee.

Mr. COHN. Have you delegated it to him?

The CHAIRMAN. He is authorized by this committee.

Mr. COHN. Is he authorized in writing or orally by the committee?

The CHAIRMAN. He is now being authorized to ask questions. Proceed, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you used the name George Powers?

Mr. POWERS. Ever since it became confused with this fellow who became—turned out to be a rat in New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that?

Mr. POWERS. Oh, many years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long was it, specifically? When did you adopt the name George Powers?

Mr. POWERS. Ever since—I would say ever since 1923 or 1924. I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever in the course of your work in the Communist Party gone under any other name than that of George Powers?

Mr. POWERS. Not to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever gone under the name of M. H. Powers?

Mr. POWERS. I did not; but at times, through a mistake, it was recorded; I notice it was brought out several times, but I never went about under it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where was it so recorded by mistake?

Mr. POWERS. Several places—I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it so recorded by mistake in the publications of the Communist Party?

Mr. POWERS. It may have been for all I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you always known as M. H. Powers in the period about which we are speaking now—in the Daily Worker?

Mr. POWERS. What is that?

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please answer a little louder? It is difficult to hear.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you known as M. H. Powers in the Daily Worker?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall it. It might have been printed M. H. Powers instead of George Powers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Had you ever used the name George Powers up to that time?

Mr. POWERS. Up to what time?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Up to the time you used the name M. H. Powers.

Mr. POWERS. I can't understand your question. Have I ever used the name George Powers up to the time—

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you used the name M. H. Powers.

Mr. POWERS. Well, I don't see that is important. What is the question about? What do you want to know?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to know when you adopted the name George Powers, and why and when you used the name M. H. Powers.

Mr. POWERS. Well, at times, as I told you—at times the name was printed in various publications or papers, at times they referred to me as George Powers, and at times they referred to me as M. H. Powers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But in the publications of the Communist Party you were also known as M. H. Powers?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall it. They might have printed that. I can't recall what somebody printed about me. I am not interested in that. I am not so much interested in myself as all that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with the publication Labor Defender, once published by the International Labor Defense?

Mr. POWERS. Yes; I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you seen many of its issues in the past years?

Mr. POWERS. No; it has been out of print for a long time, I believe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, while it was in existence, did you see its issues regularly?

Mr. POWERS. Occasionally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see your name and picture——

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the issues of the Labor Defender?

Mr. POWERS. I may have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Powers, are you under indictment for a capital offense in the State of Georgia?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever under an indictment for a capital offense in the State of Georgia?

Mr. POWERS. I object to this question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How is that?

Mr. POWERS. I object to answering this question. It has nothing to do with your investigation.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer the question?

Mr. POWERS. I will answer it. I was indicted in Atlanta, Ga., for distributing leaflets and holding meetings. That is a capital offense in Georgia where some of these gentlemen come from.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the indictment?

Mr. POWERS. The indictment?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall the indictment, but that was the so-called crime you are referring to. We held a meeting of about 30 people, and they charged me with a capital offense in Georgia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wasn't it an indictment for inciting to insurrection?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir; I didn't incite to any insurrection, because we were sitting in a room, 30 of us, holding a meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am asking you what the indictment itself stated. The indictment states it was a charge of inciting to insurrection?

Mr. POWERS. Well, in the South anything is inciting to insurrection that does not suit the gentlemen of the South.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not responsive. The committee will have no demonstrations on the part of sympathizers or fellow members. No demonstrations will be permitted. Proceed.

Mr. POWERS. You see, there was a law passed during the period of 1861, during the slave uprising, saying that any slave that talks against its master shall be charged with inciting to insurrection, and that is the law that was called in when I was distributing leaflets.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you were indicted for inciting to insurrection?

Mr. POWERS. I answered the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that that you were indicted?

Mr. POWERS. I believe it was, to be exact, in April of 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was 1930, wasn't it?

Mr. POWERS. 1930? Then you know better than I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With whom were you associated in that indictment? Do you recall the names of the other persons involved?

Mr. POWERS. I don't think I should mention the names of the other people involved.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Ann Burlak one of the members of the Communist Party indicted with you?

Mr. POWERS. Not with me. She must have been indicted separately.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was she indicted on the same charge at the same time you were?

Mr. CONN. Mr. Chairman, may I object to going into this line of testimony on the ground it is inconsequential, immaterial, has no relevancy whatever to the scope of the investigation of this body.

The CHAIRMAN. The objection is overruled. Proceed.

Mr. CASEY. I think if there was a conviction we ought to go on with this—

Mr. POWERS. There was no conviction; the case was dismissed 2 weeks ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In that case, how did you give your name to the court?

Mr. POWERS. It has been a long time ago. I don't recall it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know you gave your name to the court as M. H. Powers?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know. You asked me if I knew. I don't. I may have. I don't know. It has been 10 years ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I should like to have introduced into evidence as an exhibit, page 154 of the Labor Defender for August 1930. This publication was the official publication of the International Labor Defense at that time, and in that issue of the Labor Defender, on page 154, Mr. Powers' biography is set forth, including the following items:

That his name is M. H. Powers; that he was from St. Paul; that he was 23 years old at the time (that was in 1930); that he joined the Communist Party in October 1923, and not in 1925, as he has testified here; that he was an active organizer for the Trade Union Unity League, an affiliate of the Profintern, with headquarters in Moscow, and that he was an organizer for the party in the South.

Also page 257 of the Labor Defender for December 1930, which like the other issue, contains a picture of Mr. Powers and states that his name is M. H. Powers.

Other publications of the Communist Party, including the Daily Worker for a period of at least 2 years, constantly referred to this gentleman as M. H. Powers.

Mr. CONN. Mr. Chairman, upon the offer of this evidence I wish the record to show that I am making objection upon the ground, first, that this questioner has himself been testifying as to what those records show; second, that the evidence, even if admissible, that the evidence, even if it had been produced before you, I should

say is of no consequence, is incompetent, irrelevant, and immaterial, not properly identified, and no foundation has been laid for it.

The CHAIRMAN. Ask the witness if the information contained in the publication was correct or incorrect.

Mr. COHN. May I say, Mr. Chairman, he doesn't have the publication before him.

The CHAIRMAN. He can certainly ask him specific questions and ask him if that is correct or incorrect.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Powers, did you join the Communist Party in 1923?

Mr. POWERS. I stated before the committee when I joined the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did join the Communist Party in 1923, as stated in the Labor Defender?

Mr. POWERS. I already answered this question.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you a question which you can certainly answer. He has asked you whether or not you joined the party in 1923.

Mr. POWERS. I joined the party in 1925.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you were in Philadelphia were you associated in any capacity whatever with Leon Platt?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall being associated with any such person.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall Leon Platt?

Mr. POWERS. I never heard of such a name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Martin Young, your predecessor in your present position?

Mr. POWERS. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not know that Martin Young is an alias for Leon Platt?

Mr. POWERS. I know nothing about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, there is testimony to that effect before this committee.

Have you seen Martin Young since your arrival in Washington yesterday morning?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you seen Leon Platt?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since your arrival in Washington yesterday morning?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know any such person. I met no one since I came in yesterday morning, except my attorney.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it your testimony you did not associate in any way with Leon Platt in Philadelphia while you were there?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall any such person.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you associated with Martin Young during that period?

Mr. POWERS. In Pittsburgh, yes; not in Philadelphia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Never in Philadelphia?

Mr. POWERS. No.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you known Martin Young?

Mr. POWERS. Since I came into Pittsburgh, but I think that is—

Mr. LYNCH. What is his home address?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever been to his home?

Mr. POWERS. When?

Mr. LYNCH. Any time in the last few years.

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. What is his address?

Mr. POWERS. His number was 2 Demling Way.

Mr. LYNCH. How do you spell that?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know how you spell it; Demling.

Mr. LYNCH. Pittsburgh?

Mr. POWERS. Yes. It is generally known; everybody knows it.

Mr. LYNCH. When was his address the one you have just given us?

Mr. POWERS. Sir?

Mr. LYNCH. When was his address the one you have just given us, 2 Demling Way?

Mr. POWERS. About a year ago.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you been to his home in the last year?

Mr. POWERS. Not since, I would say, last August.

Mr. LYNCH. Was that his address then?

Mr. POWERS. It probably was.

Mr. LYNCH. No; was it or not? If you were there, you would know.

Mr. POWERS. Yes; it was.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know whether he has changed his address since that time?

Mr. POWERS. He left after August. He was sick, so he was relieved and I took his place.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know his address since last August?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir; I don't.

Mr. LYNCH. When was the last time you saw him?

Mr. POWERS. In August.

Mr. LYNCH. Last year?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. That was in Pittsburgh?

Mr. POWERS. Correct.

Mr. LYNCH. Where is he now?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you familiar with the membership card of the Communist Party in Allegheny County?

Mr. POWERS. I am. I have one, so I must be.

Mr. LYNCH. Let us see yours. Have you got it with you?

Mr. POWERS. I haven't got it here.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you produce it today, in response to your subpoena?

Mr. POWERS. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Where are the records you produced in response to that subpoena?

Mr. POWERS. I told you I wouldn't produce any records. I refuse to produce any records to this committee because of the blacklist they are trying to use.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, I ask you to direct the witness to produce whatever records he has in response to the subpoena duces tecum.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, the witness said he brought no records.

Mr. POWERS. I brought no records.

Mr. LYNCH. And you refuse to obey that subpoena?

Mr. POWERS. I haven't any here, so it is impossible to produce them.

Mr. COHN. May I say, if the Chair pleases, that he first testified——  
The CHAIRMAN. Just a minute, now.

Mr. LYNCH. I introduce the subpoena in evidence, and I ask that it be made a part of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. And he refuses to produce the records in response to the subpoena?

Mr. COHN. May I say he testified that there were no records with regard to membership lists. If I recall the testimony, it was that there were no membership lists, that there were financial records which were not in his custody or control.

Mr. LYNCH. He didn't say anything of the kind.

Mr. POWERS. I did say that.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you familiar with this book which I am showing you, which has heretofore been marked "Exhibit No. 1"?

Mr. POWERS. I am not familiar with that; never saw it before.

Mr. LYNCH. You never saw it before this time?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. That is a membership book, is it not, in 1940?

Mr. POWERS. Not this book. I don't know; it looks similar to books of 1940; yes.

Mr. LYNCH. I show you in the left-hand corner of the first page, "1940 Membership Book." Does that indicate it is the current-year membership book?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know where you got it. The books we have look similar to this one.

Mr. LYNCH. Does that appear to you to be a forgery?

Mr. POWERS. It may be, for all I know.

Mr. LYNCH. I am asking you if it appears to be.

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you have a blank membership book with you?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. You have those in the office, or don't you?

Mr. POWERS. Occasionally we have one or two.

Mr. LYNCH. Martin Young's name is stamped on there. Who would stamp that on there if it were a genuine book?

Mr. POWERS. The person in charge.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is the person in charge?

Mr. POWERS. I told you I am not giving any names.

Mr. LYNCH. You are in charge of the office, are you not?

Mr. POWERS. I am in charge of the office, but not of issuing books.

Mr. LYNCH. Who would be in charge of issuing books?

Mr. POWERS. The person who signs them.

Mr. LYNCH. Someone under you?

Mr. POWERS. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Would he be the same person who would have charge of the financial records?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Give us the person who would have charge of the issuing of membership books.

The CHAIRMAN. He has already declined.

Mr. LYNCH. I want to put the question specifically. Give us the name of the man who would be in charge of issuing membership books in the Communist Party in your area.

Mr. POWERS. I told you that I wouldn't give you any names of any people.

Mr. LYNCH. You refuse to give that name?

Mr. POWERS. Because of the——

Mr. LYNCH. Wait a minute. Do you refuse to give that name?

Mr. POWERS. I refuse to give any name for the purpose of——

The CHAIRMAN. That is enough.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you refuse to give that name?

Mr. POWERS. What name?

Mr. LYNCH. The name I just asked you, of the man who issues the membership-card book.

Mr. POWERS. What membership-card book?

Mr. LYNCH. Such as the one just shown you, membership in the Communist Party.

Mr. POWERS. I tell you——

Mr. LYNCH. I am asking you if you will give us the name of the man who issues the membership-card books.

Mr. POWERS. I certainly will not.

Mr. COHN. May I request the Chair to give the witness an opportunity to explain why he will not give any names?

The CHAIRMAN. He has already; he has stated that two or three times. Proceed, Mr. Lynch.

Mr. COHN. May I say, for the sake of the record, that the witness has not been afforded an opportunity to make an explanation in full of record?

The CHAIRMAN. The witness has already made his statement. Mr. Counsel, proceed.

Mr. COHN. May I enter an objection upon the record to the chairman's refusal to permit this witness to explain at this time?

The CHAIRMAN. No; you won't enter that, because that is not a correct statement.

Mr. COHN. I must enter my objection——

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever correct or write to the publications that were using the name M. H. Powers, in connection with you, and tell them your real name was George Powers?

Mr. POWERS. Sir?

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever write to the publications that were using the name M. H. Powers and tell them it was wrong and that your real name was George Powers?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall anything like that.

Mr. LYNCH. All right.

Mr. CASEY. Did it make any difference to you whether your name was used as George Powers or M. H. Powers?

Mr. POWERS. That is a matter of opinion. I don't think I have to answer that. We are not discussing opinions here. You are supposed to be investigating facts.

Mr. CASEY. I am asking, Did it make any difference to you?

Mr. POWERS. That is a matter of opinion.

Mr. CASEY. You don't want to answer?

Mr. POWERS. I don't have to indicate my opinions on any matter. Opinions are my private matter.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Are there any more questions, gentlemen?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes. What is the amount of literature that you sell at the office of which you are in charge?

Mr. POWERS. I sold Mr. Matthews \$2 worth of literature the other day.

Mr. LYNCH. How much do you sell in a month?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was \$1.70.

Mr. POWERS. I stand corrected.

Mr. LYNCH. How much literature do you sell in a month at your office?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know; I am not in charge of it.

Mr. LYNCH. You sold Dr. Matthews some literature the other day; you are in charge of that?

Mr. POWERS. Because you illegally kidnapped Dolsen. Otherwise he would be in charge of it.

Mr. LYNCH. I move that be stricken from the record, because it is wholly untrue.

The CHAIRMAN. Stricken from the record.

Mr. POWERS. Well, he was taken from the office, and he had no opportunity—

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. How do you turn over proceeds that come into your hands as the representative of that district?

Mr. POWERS. No proceeds come into my hands. I am not in charge of that.

Mr. LYNCH. No money comes into your hands at all?

Mr. POWERS. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Where do you hold the meetings of the Communist Party in your district?

Mr. POWERS. Wherever we can get a hall.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you hold the last meeting?

Mr. POWERS. In the Carnegie Music Hall.

Mr. LYNCH. Carnegie Music Hall, Pittsburgh?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. When?

Mr. LYNCH. Last month, I believe. We hold them regularly there; it is a public place.

Mr. LYNCH. How often do you hold meetings?

Mr. POWERS. What meetings?

Mr. LYNCH. Meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. POWERS. Well, there are various meetings of the Communist Party.

Mr. LYNCH. Irrespective of what the nature of them is, how often do you hold them; once a week, once a month?

Mr. COHN. May I intrude for just a moment? There are different types of meetings held at different periods and at different intervals.

Mr. LYNCH. He can answer.

Mr. COHN. Yes; but you say any kind.

Mr. LYNCH. He can explain.

Mr. POWERS. I will answer. What meetings are you referring to—what type of meetings?

Mr. LYNCH. Any meetings you have.

Mr. POWERS. We hold them as often as we please. We are a legal organization. Whenever we feel like holding a meeting, we hold one.

Mr. LYNCH. Is there any set time for these meetings?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Who calls the meetings together?

Mr. POWERS. It depends on what sort of meetings they are.

Mr. LYNCH. What type of meetings do you have?

Mr. POWERS. Public meetings, branch meetings.

Mr. LYNCH. How often do you hold branch meetings?

Mr. POWERS. We hold branch meetings twice a month.

Mr. LYNCH. Where are they usually held?

Mr. POWERS. That depends on where they make arrangements to hold the meetings.

Mr. LYNCH. What other meetings do you have besides branch meetings?

Mr. POWERS. We have conventions.

Mr. LYNCH. How often do you hold them?

Mr. POWERS. Our constitution provides for that.

Mr. LYNCH. How often does that provide for them?

Mr. POWERS. Whenever the national committee of the party decides to hold them. It is usually held about every 2 years.

Mr. LYNCH. Where do you usually hold those?

Mr. POWERS. One was held in Madison Square Garden.

Mr. LYNCH. There is a list which shows whether or not a fellow has paid his dues, isn't there? You testified to that a few minutes ago.

Mr. POWERS. Well, the person in charge probably has one, but I wouldn't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Otherwise you wouldn't know whether a man was in good standing or not, unless his dues had been paid?

Mr. POWERS. We have no way of telling that; no.

Mr. LYNCH. So the list would show whether or not he was paid up to date, wouldn't it?

Mr. POWERS. What list?

Mr. LYNCH. The list showing dues had been paid of a certain member.

Mr. POWERS. I told you I am not in charge of those lists, and I wouldn't know just how they are handled. The person in charge takes proper care of them.

Mr. LYNCH. Don't you know as head of the office what goes on in the office?

Mr. POWERS. Oh, yes; I do.

Mr. LYNCH. Then, don't you know one of your subordinates would have to take care of the collection of dues?

Mr. POWERS. Yes; and I have enough confidence in him to know he would do his job properly.

Mr. LYNCH. And there being 2,500 members, he couldn't remember each one of them personally, could he?

Mr. POWERS. The branch secretary would, possibly.

Mr. LYNCH. They all come ultimately to your office, do they not?

Mr. POWERS. Oh, no; not 2,500 men.

Mr. LYNCH. I say they ultimately come to your branch, as headquarters?

Mr. COHN. May I ask that the questioner clarify the question? It is not clear to me. Do you mean the members come in, or the lists, or the funds?

Mr. LYNCH. The witness seems to understand.

Mr. COHN. I am afraid he doesn't.

Mr. LYNCH. He doesn't seem to have any difficulty with it. Will you answer the question, Mr. Powers?

Mr. POWERS. What is the question?

Mr. LYNCH. If a person pays his dues, the ultimate fact that he does pay comes to your office, doesn't it?

Mr. POWERS. It doesn't. The person pays his dues; it goes to the branch secretary.

Mr. LYNCH. Does the branch secretary forward the money to your office?

Mr. POWERS. To the person in charge.

Mr. LYNCH. He is in your office, is he not?

Mr. POWERS. No, he is not.

Mr. LYNCH. Where is his office?

Mr. POWERS. He doesn't have any office.

Mr. LYNCH. Where is his home?

Mr. POWERS. That I told you I wouldn't tell you, so why ask?

Mr. LYNCH. I ask that he be required to answer that question, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. POWERS. What question?

The CHAIRMAN. The question he just asked you?

Mr. POWERS. I answered him that the person in charge——

Mr. LYNCH. He didn't answer the question at all. I asked him specifically the man's home address. He said he didn't have an office and I am asking for his home address.

Mr. POWERS. I don't know where he lives. I can't tell you that.

Mr. LYNCH. Does he ever come to your office?

Mr. POWERS. Occasionally.

Mr. LYNCH. Does he bank money or do you bank the money?

Mr. POWERS. There is no banking to it. The money is usually mailed in to the national office by the person in charge.

Mr. LYNCH. Mailed to the national office at what place?

Mr. POWERS. New York City.

Mr. LYNCH. And what address in New York City?

Mr. POWERS. Well, the address of the national office is 35 East Twelfth Street.

Mr. LYNCH. And when the funds are mailed there, are they not set forth as the dues of certain members?

Mr. POWERS. No.

Mr. LYNCH. What are they sent as?

Mr. POWERS. I wouldn't know. The person in charge would know about it.

Mr. LYNCH. Did your father come to this country with you?

Mr. POWERS. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Was your father in this country before?

Mr. POWERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. For how long a period of time was he here?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Is your father now living?

Mr. POWERS. No, he is dead.

Mr. LYNCH. Your mother is dead, too?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you old enough to remember your father before he left Russia?

Mr. COHN. May I object to any further questioning along this line as being extremely personal and private and not within the province of this committee?

Mr. LYNCH. It is very important.

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

Mr. COHN. Do I understand my objection is overruled?

The CHAIRMAN. The witness before you made your objection said he didn't know.

Mr. COHN. I ask that the answer be stricken out and I ask a ruling from the Chair on my objection.

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point I would like to ask counsel for the witness a question. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COHN. I am not under subpoena here.

Mr. THOMAS. I know that, but I want to get some information from you.

Mr. COHN. If you wish to question me——

Mr. THOMAS. Are you a member of the Communist Party? Do you refuse to answer the question?

Mr. COHN. May I say to you that if you wish me to answer any kind of questions, I am here subject to subpoena if you desire to subpoena me. I wish to protest against that question because of the motivation behind it.

Mr. THOMAS. I will ask the committee at this point or a little later to subpoena the counsel for the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take that up.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Powers, were you old enough to remember your father before he left Russia?

Mr. POWERS. I consider that to be a personal question and I will not answer any personal questions.

Mr. LYNCH. You refuse to answer it?

Mr. POWERS. I refuse to answer any personal questions.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you refuse to answer that question?

Mr. POWERS. This committee has no right to go into any personal questions.

Mr. LYNCH. I ask, Mr. Chairman, that he be directed to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse to answer the question; is that correct?

Mr. POWERS. I do. I don't see that this committee has any right to go into personal questions.

Mr. LYNCH. What name did you use when you arrived in this country?

Mr. POWERS. The name I gave here.

Mr. LYNCH. What name did you use before you arrived in this country?

Mr. POWERS. That is immaterial.

Mr. LYNCH. I submit it is very material.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to answer that question. Do you decline to do so?

Mr. POWERS. I consider that immaterial to this committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. LYNCH. What name did your mother use when she entered this country?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know whether she used the same name that you used?

Mr. POWERS. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Did your two brothers accompany you when you entered this country?

Mr. POWERS. That is a personal question. I will not answer it.

Mr. LYNCH. I will ask the Chair to direct him to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are directed to answer. Do you refuse to do so?

Mr. POWERS. On the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Powers, at what port did you arrive in this country?

Mr. POWERS. Sir?

Mr. LYNCH. At what port did you arrive in this country?

Mr. POWERS. I don't recall that.

Mr. LYNCH. You don't remember whether it was New York or Boston—

Mr. POWERS. New York, I think it was.

Mr. LYNCH. What?

Mr. POWERS. New York.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you any connections with any labor organizations at the present time?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Which ones?

Mr. POWERS. I am a member of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee. I have been a member of the Steel Workers' Union since 1932.

Mr. LYNCH. That is in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. POWERS. Now in the Pittsburgh area; at times in Baltimore.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is that an organization affiliated with either the C. I. O. or the A. F. of L.?

Mr. POWERS. At first with the A. F. of L.; later with the C. I. O.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Now with the C. I. O.?

Mr. POWERS. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. What are your duties? What do you actually do as district organizer?

Mr. POWERS. Well, the same as the duties of any other secretary.

Mr. LYNCH. What do you do? Tell us what you do.

Mr. POWERS. I meet with the district committee, decide on plans. For example, in the election campaign now we have candidates that have filed. We have other problems, the same as any organization.

Mr. LYNCH. What other duties do you have besides dealing with the district managers and committees?

Mr. POWERS. I help organize the work of the party.

Mr. LYNCH. Such as what?

Mr. POWERS. Such as organizing our branches, carrying on activities, such as literature sales.

Mr. LYNCH. What else?

Mr. POWERS. That is about all.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Chairman, before the committee goes into executive session, I would like to ask the attorney for the witness a few questions.

Mr. CONN. Would you like to ask them off the record?

The CHAIRMAN. We can't go into that now.

Mr. THOMAS. They are three very short questions.

Mr. CONN. I will be glad to answer them off the record, if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to be sworn if you are going to answer questions.

Mr. CONN. I will object to being sworn. I appear here as counsel for this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You do object?

Mr. CONN. I object to any such procedure.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; the committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p. m., the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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FRIDAY, MARCH 29, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTI-  
GATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 10:30 a. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Mason, Dempsey, and Voorhis.

Present also: Robert Lynch, counsel for the committee; and J. B. Matthews, special investigator for the committee.

Present also: Leo Alpert, attorney for Mrs. Dorothy Rose Blumberg.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Let me announce that until the members of the committee get here, the committee is now sitting as a subcommittee. The Chair designates himself and the gentleman from Illinois, Mr. Mason, and Mr. Dempsey, as a subcommittee to hear the testimony.

Proceed, Mr. Matthews.

## STATEMENT OF MRS. DOROTHY ROSE BLUMBERG, BALTIMORE, MD., MEMBER OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Blumberg, will you please state your full name for the record?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Dorothy Rose Blumberg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your address?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. 2533 Forest Park Avenue, Baltimore.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you the wife of Dr. Alfred E. Blumberg?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Dr. Alfred E. Blumberg the secretary for the Communist Party for the district which includes Baltimore, Delaware, western Maryland, and the District of Columbia?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I think his correct title is State secretary of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is western Maryland included in that district?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Maryland is Maryland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The whole of Maryland is included?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a subdivision in that district which you designate as western Maryland?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Delaware or any part of Delaware included in that district?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I can only tell you what the title is. What it includes I have no details on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know whether Delaware or any part of Delaware is included in the district?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long has Dr. Blumberg held this position?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Since November 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me; I didn't get the name of the attorney. You appear here as attorney?

Mr. ALPERT. I am Mrs. Blumberg's private attorney. My name is Leo Alpert.

The CHAIRMAN. And you reside where?

Mr. ALPERT. In Baltimore.

The CHAIRMAN. You are a practicing attorney in Baltimore?

Mr. ALPERT. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Blumberg, do you have any official connection with the office which your husband administers?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Since December of 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you worked in the offices of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I come in occasionally to do typing, a little bit of mimeograph work, answer the telephone, when there is nobody else there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have been an unofficial assistant in your husband's work?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. My husband asks me to come in and help him out occasionally on the question of typing, and so forth.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are, therefore, are you not, acquainted with the workings of the office?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I know very little about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. We will ask you specifically some questions that have to do with it, and we will get your specific answers.

Does the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore have anyone else employed in an official capacity in it?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Well, there is a city secretary.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the city secretary?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. William C. Taylor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there any others?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. The Communist Party; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the Young Communist League have its headquarters in the same building with the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the same room?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. They have a room of their own.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give us Mr. Taylor's address?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know his address, other than the headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Mr. Taylor's position as city secretary of the Communist Party in Baltimore a full-time job?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I really don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know whether he has any other employment or not?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I couldn't tell you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long has he held that position?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't really know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What, briefly, and in sketchy fashion, are his duties as city secretary of the Communist Party of Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I can't tell you that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know the functions which he performs?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Blumberg, are you acquainted with a Mr. H. J. Lawler?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard of Mr. H. J. Lawler?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen any correspondence between Mr. Lawler and your husband?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter which may or may not refresh your recollection. This was turned over by you to the investigators. Have you ever seen this particular letter, signed H. J. Lawler?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't remember—

Mr. ALPERT. Just a moment. Is this some of the material that was taken from the office in Baltimore yesterday? If it is, we object to that. As I understand it, it is stuff which was seized without a search warrant.

The CHAIRMAN. You enter an objection?

Mr. ALPERT. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. To what?

Mr. ALPERT. I enter an objection to the introduction of any of the material that was taken from the office there yesterday. Mrs. Blumberg tells me that your investigators came in there yesterday without a search warrant, with a subpoena which was blank, and on which they filled her name in, and then they took all this literature and stuff that was lying around without asking permission, and without having any warrant to take it.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not what our investigators state. The investigators who went there reported to the committee that they obtained the consent of Mrs. Blumberg to take these records, and that she gave her consent.

Mr. ALPERT. Is that so?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I protested originally, because, as I said, I had no authority to give them anything, and I did have no authority to give them anything.

Mr. ALPERT. Did you tell them they could take it?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I told them I couldn't stop them.

Mr. ALPERT. We still object to that.

Mr. LYNCH. Of course, Mr. Chairman, it wouldn't make any difference, unless this witness claims it was her property, and she does not claim it was her property.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; objection overruled.

Mr. ALPERT. Exception.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This letter reads as follows:

DEAR DR. BLUMBERG: In our recent talk I neglected to point out what seems to me to be a gap in the literature of the Party. That is, there ought to be written by someone who has both literary talent and the urge to integrate economic factors into a Socialism, a book which will be devoted to a prediction of exactly what would happen to the various institutions in the United States were Socialism to be the guiding force (unfortunate that Norman Thomas has a Socialist Party), fact and probably figures integrated with theory, modified by the lessons from Russia, served up in a readable form, a blue print of the future America. That is what I would like to see. Of course this would be an effort to "dream a little dream with me," and would be subject to much probable error, but wouldn't it be interesting and important as a method of convincing the people who read of the desirability of the removal of the hierarchy of profit?

Now, I have read the little squibs on production that Browder and Strachey tucked into their volumes. I don't refer to anything so meager and skimpy. Rather, something like West's recent volume on the Soviet, but probably in simpler language, as befitting a volume intended for general consumption, or perhaps the Williams book on the same subject would furnish a convenient literary form.

Some of the questions that perhaps should be answered: Will the industries be maintained under the present set-up and be run from above by control \* \* \* or will the entire superstructure of capital be immediately removed? If so, what are the predictable consequences, and how can the adverse ones be prevented or alleviated? Will the actual working bosses in the factories continue or will they be replaced? If so, who will take their place? And so forth, ad infinitum.

These questions, as you see, will require immediate solution when the Party comes into power. Others of a long time nature, such as what will be the work of the Planning Commission (God's plan of the U. S. S. R.), and what goals will be set, might well be taken up in great detail.

To tell the truth, I would like to have a try at writing this book myself, but the enormous amount of research necessarily involved would take too much time, and at least for the next two years I would not be able to attempt it.

Just what do you think of this? I am sorry I did not remember it Friday so as to get everything out of the way, but you know the human memory or the lack of it.

Yours,

H. J. LAWLER.

This is a letter sent from an address in Baltimore, 941 North Broadway, Baltimore, Md. At least, the letter was in an envelope bearing that address.

Now, Mrs. Blumberg—

Mr. ALPERT. Just a moment, Mr. Matthews. Mr. Chairman, I renew my objection to that and ask that the letter be stricken out, on the ground I have stated, that of unlawful search and seizure, and also because it has not been identified, and because it has no bearing on what this witness is testifying to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am going to ask the witness some questions about the letter.

The CHAIRMAN. The objection is overruled for the time being.

Mr. ALPERT. Exception.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Blumberg, this letter is written on stationery which bears the watermark of the State of Georgia, official State insignia, with the map of the State of Georgia on it. Do you know

whether your husband is or was acquainted with someone in Georgia who would be entitled to use the official stationery of the State of Georgia?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether your husband has contemplated the writing of such a book, either by himself or in collaboration with someone else, or in seeing someone else do it, or encouraging someone else to do it?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I can't tell you that; I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has your husband ever discussed with you such a book as the one described here?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; he never has.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Blumberg, didn't the investigators request you to ask your husband to be here this morning?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you say you would bring him with you?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I didn't say I would bring him with me. I said I would tell him what they said.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't tell the investigators that your husband would accompany you this morning?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I didn't tell them that.

The CHAIRMAN. Your husband did not come this morning?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. He said he wouldn't come without a subpoena?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. He didn't say anything.

The CHAIRMAN. He just didn't show up. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you discuss the question of your husband's appearance with him?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I simply repeated what the investigators told me. I said to him they said to me, "Will you tell Dr. Blumberg to come over tomorrow morning?" and that was all.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Clerk, will you now have a subpoena issued at once for Dr. Blumberg? Where is Dr. Blumberg this morning?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I left him at home.

Mr. LYNCH. What address, Mrs. Blumberg?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. 2523 Forest Park Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state what your husband's reply was to the information conveyed to him?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. He didn't say anything specially.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he say he would come?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. He didn't say anything one way or the other. I think he said, "uh-huh," or something like that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Blumberg, I show you a booklet. Have you ever seen any book like that?

The CHAIRMAN. Please identify it for the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am going to.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. It says at the top, "Communist Party of the U. S. A.," so I suppose that is what it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have seen these books in the office?

Mr. ALPERT. I object to that on the same grounds as before.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever worked with any of these books?

Mr. ALPERT. I take an exception to your ruling. I take it for granted it is the same.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you are acquainted with the book?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I have seen such a book.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you got one of those books?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever have one?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Weren't you given one when you joined the Communist Party in December?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I was never given one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why wouldn't you receive one?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ask for one?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was any reason given you why you were not provided with a party membership book?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know, do you not, that is regular procedure for party members to have a membership book?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. That is possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know that is the regular procedure?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I have read a lot in the papers about books.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the most you know about the Communist Party membership book, what you have read in the papers?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I know my husband has one. Naturally I have seen his.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a Communist Party membership book of 1939, and this is a Communist Party membership book of 1938. Have you ever seen membership books of that sort?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I haven't seen that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You haven't seen those around the office in your work there?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I just work on the surface, you know, typing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the front of this Communist Party membership book, Mr. Chairman, there is a detachable card, with a perforated line, so that it is obviously meant to be torn out, and also in the back there is a similar card.

The card in the front of the book, intended to be detached, says, "I have received membership book," and then there appears a line for signature, and then the following: "State, district, county, city, section, branch, initiation stamp, line for the date," and then a notation, "Be sure to sign and return to the membership director."

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is a direction as to where to send it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That appears to be a direction.

Now, Mrs. Blumberg, who is the membership director in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever heard whether or not there is a membership director for the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the membership director of the State of Maryland?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any membership director in any one of the units of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The card at the back of the book, Mr. Chairman, is entitled "Control Card: First Half of 1939, Membership Book," with blank spaces for data similar to that on the first page.

The CHAIRMAN. And also the one I have is No. 108,550.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes; and this one which I am introducing into the record is 108,531, and these numbers appear both on the card in the front and the back of the book.

Now, Mrs. Blumberg, haven't you known that it is the practice for a member who receives such a book as this to detach these cards, give them to some functionary of the Communist Party, who in turn mails them to well-known addresses or headquarters of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know anything about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you never seen your husband or anyone else in the office mailing these cards—the one I refer to now is the one in the front of the book—to Mr. A. W. Mills in Chicago, who is the head of the central organization department of the Communist Party in the United States?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you never seen him or anyone else in the office mail the card in the back of the book to the central control commission, headed by Mr. Charles Dirba, in New York City?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have not heard of these matters in any respect?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What records of membership are kept in the headquarters of the Communist Party in Baltimore or elsewhere in the State of Maryland, Mrs. Blumberg?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know of any.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you any knowledge that such records do not exist?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I have no knowledge that they do exist.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen cards described as section file cards? I will show you one. Have you ever seen cards similar to that?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I never saw that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see this strong-box in your headquarters—the box, I mean?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. The box; yes. It was sitting there. I didn't bother it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never seen the contents of it?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There apparently are several thousand of these cards, the section file cards, in the box.

Mr. ALPERT. I renew my objection again and except to your ruling again.

The CHAIRMAN. In reference to all these matters?

Mr. ALPERT. Yes; in reference to all these materials which I say were unlawfully seized.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will let the record show that clearly; you are objecting to the introduction or use for any purpose, either for examination or introduction in evidence, of all the records obtained by our investigators at the headquarters of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. ALPERT. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that one of these cards entitled "Section File" be incorporated in its entirety in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The card referred to is as follows:)

## SECTION FILE

1939 Book No. _____		1940 Book No. _____	
Name _____		Address _____	
(Please Print)			
Section _____		Branch _____	
City _____	Date Joined _____	Recruited by _____	
Male _____	Female _____	Negro _____	White _____ Age _____
Country of Birth _____		National Origin _____	
Occupation _____		Industry _____	Employed _____
			Unemployed _____
Are you a member of a trade union? Yes _____ No _____			
Is union C. I. O. _____ A. F. of L. _____ Independent _____			
Name of Union _____		Local _____	
Are you a paid official in union? Yes _____ No _____ War Veteran _____			
Are you a paid official in mass organization? Yes _____ No _____			
Are you a member of any of the following organizations?			
Workers Alliance _____		I. W. O. _____	I. L. D. _____ F. S. U. _____
Amer. League _____		Tenants organization _____ L. N. P. L. _____	
P. T. A. _____			
Other mass organization _____			
Was disciplinary action ever taken against you? _____			

Mr. MATTHEWS. This particular section file card is a blank, and has a blank for the 1939 yearbook number, and another for the 1940 yearbook number. There is such information requested as name, address, section, branch, city, date joined, recruited by, male, female, Negro, white, age, country of birth, national origin, occupation, industry, employed, unemployed; are you a member of a trade-union? Yes, no; is union C. I. O., A. F. of L., independent. Name of union, local. Are you a paid official in union? Yes, no; war veteran; are you a paid official in mass organization? Yes, no. Are you a member of any of the following organizations?

Then first there is the Workers Alliance.

Has the Workers Alliance a branch in Baltimore, Mrs. Blumberg?

Mr. ALPERT. If you know.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes; there is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been active in the work of the Workers Alliance in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I never have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has your husband ever been active in the work of the Alliance in Baltimore in any respect?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a member of the Workers Alliance?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Another of the blanks is I. W. O. What does I. W. O. stand for, Mrs. Blumberg?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. International Workers Order, an insurance order.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has that in Baltimore also a branch or several branches?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that the organization of which Mr. William Weiner, or Mr. W. Watsar, alias William Reider, is the head?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen any literature of the International Workers Order?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. A little bit.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have in the headquarters of the Communist Party in Baltimore a list of the members of the International Workers Order who reside in Baltimore?

Mr. ALPERT. Do you know that?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I never saw any.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never saw such a list?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In a moment I want to introduce that list, Mr. Chairman.

The next is I. L. D. What does I. L. D. stand for?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. So far as I know it is International Labor Defense.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there a section or branch or unit of the International Labor Defense in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you belong to the International Labor Defense?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next is F. S. U.? What does F. S. U. stand for?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. That is Friends of the Soviet Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Friends of the Soviet Union?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been a member?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Oh, a long time ago.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the organization in Baltimore, with a branch?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; so far as I know, it is not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next is the Amer. League. Is that the American League for Peace and Democracy that is referred to there?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It wouldn't be the baseball organization, would it?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. You can't tell. We go to the baseball games, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hold any office in the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I used to do some typing for them, occasionally.

The CHAIRMAN. Copying at their office in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Oh, years ago; about 4 or 5 years ago, I guess.

The CHAIRMAN. In Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I did typing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was your husband an official in the American League for Peace and Democracy in Baltimore, or of the American League Against War and Fascism?

The CHAIRMAN. You will have to answer, Mrs. Blumberg. We can't record a shake of the head.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I am sorry. I don't think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was he an official of the American League Against War and Fascism in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't remember.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next blank space is for tenants organization. Do you know what organization that refers to?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I haven't any idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The next blank is for L. N. P. L. Do you know what those initials stand for?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I don't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It wouldn't be Labor's Nonpartisan League, would it?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. It might.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is certainly a correct answer.

The next is P. T. A. Do you know what P. T. A. stands for?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. The only one I ever heard of would be the Parent-Teachers Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You wouldn't expect to find that on this particular section file card, would you?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. You can't tell.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mrs. Blumberg, I show you a 1939 registration card. Have you ever seen cards of that sort?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. ALPERT. Of course, I am objecting to that, and excepting to the ruling.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. The record so shows.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where does the section of which your husband is the head keep a complete set of section file cards?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know that they have any.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wouldn't you surmise that if these cards are printed and held in the office in the number of something like two or three thousand, that they were meant to be used and put on file somewhere?

Mr. ALPERT. She said she hasn't seen them.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. How should I know?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am asking you if you know.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. And I am telling you.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know where they are kept in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you saying they are not kept in the headquarters of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know anything about it.

Mr. ALPERT. She said she has not seen them, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The 1939 registration card which I hold is made out in the name of Mildred Frayne.

The section given is 4; the branch 2.

City, Baltimore.

Date joined, 1938.

Female, white, aged 24.

Country of birth, U. S. A.

National origin, Jewish.

Occupation, clerical.

Industry, Government.

Employed.

Member of a trade union? Yes.

CIO? Yes.

Name of union, United Federal Workers of America.

Are you a paid official in union? No.

Are you a paid official in mass organization? No.

Other mass organizations? None.

Was disciplinary action ever taken against you? No.

Give full name of shop employed at, S. S. B.

Do you know what S. S. B. is?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. ALPERT. I am objecting to that, and I take the same exception.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Inasmuch as the industry stated here is the Government, that would mean the Social Security Board, would it not?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Mildred Frayne?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know her by any other name than Mildred Frayne?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I don't know her at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Blumberg, in the documents turned over to the investigators at the headquarters of the Communist Party in Baltimore—

Mr. ALPERT. Which she denies, you understand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is that?

Mr. ALPERT. Which Mrs. Blumberg denies, that they were turned over.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There appeared a batch of notations which was headed "New Members" for various weeks. Most of these appear to be current.

Do you know Joe Riley?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Joe Riley by any other name than Joe Riley?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I don't know him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The notation here is "Male, white, 24, native, student."

Does that refresh your recollection?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Not at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The notation under that is A-1 seaman; male, white, C. I. O. 28; native.

Do you know Norah Morton?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Employed, female, white, native, 25; off.

Alice Adams: do you know her?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Martin Luther?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; he was before my time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This particular Martin Luther here apparently joined the Communist Party in Baltimore the week ending February 23, which is still in your time, isn't it, Mrs. Blumberg?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes; that is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know this particular Martin Luther?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know whether that is a party name for someone whose real name is something else?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know, don't you, Mrs. Blumberg, that it is quite customary for members of the Communist Party to use a party name which differs from their real name?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Is it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not know that?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I have seen it in the papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever have any other contact with that information?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is your own membership in the Communist Party under your own name?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I simply told my husband that I was joining the Communist Party, and that was all. He said, "O. K., I will take care of it."

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have seen his committee membership book; in what name is it made out?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Albert E. Blumberg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Lillian Colston?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Peter Simpson?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Listed as a native, student, age 24?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here is a membership card also headed "New member," without a name attached; male, 29; professor, C. I. O.; native and employed.

Do you know what professor that is?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I haven't any idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any of the members of the Communist Party in Baltimore besides yourself who work in the office?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever attended branch meetings of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have never been at branch meetings of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been to a party meeting of any kind?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I go to the public meetings, the way anybody else does.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But to a closed party meeting, you have never been?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know any single individual who is a member of the Communist Party other than your husband and those who work in the office with you?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Perhaps some of these individuals work in the office. Do you know John Matthews?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. That is you, isn't it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Then I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is also listed as a student, a new member, for week ending February 16.

Do you know Patrick Burke?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A steel worker; age 45.

Do you know Ann McHenry?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There follows a list of eight new members who appear to be anonymous, and five more without names, just the personal descriptions being given, and four more without the names given.

Do you know Douglas Bannister?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Male, Negro, 1801 Eagle Street; place of employment, public school.

Do you know any local school teacher or any employee at a public school that might be a member of the party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have stated you do not know any members of the Communist Party, but you may know some of these persons but not as members of the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know that one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Edward Cooper?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Negro, age 22——

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. William Hill?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Negro, age 25.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wallace Hill, Jr., Negro, age 22?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Grant Burley, Negro, age 42?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. William Christian, Negro, age 22?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These six members, according to this notation, were assigned to the Frederick Douglas Branch of the Communist Party in Baltimore. How many branches of the Communist Party are there in Baltimore, Mrs. Blumberg?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. ALPERT. Just a moment. It is understood my objection covers all this?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. ALPERT. Just to be sure.

The CHAIRMAN. We will see that the record is clear on that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here is a list of names entitled "Leading members," with the notation:

Following is a list of the most active members of the order in Baltimore. This list may be used to call special meetings which are intended to include leading members of the branches who may not be members of the city central committee. It includes members of the branch executive committee and members of special committees—

and so forth. At the top in pencil are the letters "I. W. O."

This is a list of the International Workers Order to which I referred a moment ago.

Mr. ALPERT. May I renew my objection on that, and take my exception?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen this list?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I have never seen this list.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a Mr. S. Friedman, whose name appears on this list?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who may or may not be a doctor in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please tell me if you recognize any of the names on that list?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize any of those names?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; these names mean nothing to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recognize any of the names on this page?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You haven't had time to look at them.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I am looking now. No; I don't know any of these people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or on this page?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. These names mean nothing to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. These are given as Washington, D. C., members of the district committee.

Edward Sherman, as secretary of the Washington—something or other. I am sorry I can't make it out. Then, Irving Zapel. Do you know them?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Joel Weinstein?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Allen Malakoff?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. No; I don't know any of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And there is a list of out of town contacts in various places in Maryland.

Mr. Chairman, I ask the pleasure of the committee as to the introduction of this list of names of members of the International Workers Order in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, not at this time. We will hold that for the time being.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mrs. Blumberg, are you acquainted—

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see that list.

The following is a list of the most active members of the Order in Baltimore. This list may be used to call special meetings which are intended to include leading members of the Branches who may not be members of the City Central Committee. It includes members of the branch executive committee and members of special committees.

Do you know, Mrs. Blumberg, whether or not the International Workers Order has any branch meetings?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. The International Workers Order?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes; they do.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they have meetings that they call branch meetings, similar to the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. They have nothing in common with the Communist Party, so far as I know.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't ask you that. I asked do they have any branch meetings, designated branch meetings, or unit meetings, similar to the Communist Party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. They have various groups acting together, getting commission for meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, do they call them branch groups, or are they divided into branches, if you know. The point I am trying to clear up is simply this: Whether this list is a purported list of the members of the International Workers Order, or members of this party?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. It says members of the International Order, I think that is what it is. I have never seen any list of Communist Party members.

The CHAIRMAN. It doesn't say that. It says this:

The following is a list of the most active members of the Order in Baltimore.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Well, that is the International Workers Order.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not designated here as the International Workers Order, as far as I can see. It says:

This list may be used to call special meetings which are intended to include leading members of branches who may not be members of the City Central Committee.

Mrs. BLUMBERG. Yes; there is an English branch——

The CHAIRMAN. In the International Workers Order?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. In the International Workers Order; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, do they have an Italian branch and a Negro branch?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I suppose so; I don't know. I don't know very much about it.

The CHAIRMAN. And it says further:

—who may not be members of the City Central Committee.

Does the International Workers Order have a city central committee in Baltimore?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. So far as I know they have a city functioning committee, yes; like any other organization, as a board of directors, or something like that.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it have branch executive committees?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I suppose so; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know?

Mrs. BLUMBERG. I don't know. I am not very well acquainted with it.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For the moment I would like to put another witness on the stand, if the committee will permit.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you please step aside for a few minutes, Mrs. Blumberg?

(Witness temporarily excused.)

**STATEMENT OF EMMET LEONARD MURRAY, WASHINGTON, D. C.**

(The witness was duly sworn.)

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Murray, will you please state your full name for the record?

Mr. MURRAY. Emmet Leonard Murray.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your address?

Mr. MURRAY. 3716 Jennifer Street, Washington.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where are you employed?

Mr. MURRAY. Government Printing Office.

The CHAIRMAN. What was your answer to the last question?

Mr. MURRAY. Government Printing Office.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you do down there?

Mr. MURRAY. Assistant messenger.

The CHAIRMAN. Assistant messenger at the Government Printing Office?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you listed there as a skilled laborer?

Mr. MURRAY. As a skilled laborer; that is what they are called; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At 66 cents an hour; that is the classification?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Murray, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MURRAY. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MURRAY. No, sir; I never have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, among the papers obtained from the headquarters of the Communist Party in Baltimore are several which appear once to have been sealed in accordance with the system which has been testified to here by frequent witnesses of delivering important messages by courier from one headquarters of the Communist Party to another.

In one of these envelopes, under date of March 22, 1940, there appears the following memorandum, dispatched from one person, who is named here, to another.

First, how long have you been in Washington, Mr. Murray?

Mr. MURRAY. Almost a year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you come from?

Mr. MURRAY. Denver, Colo.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Carl Campbell in Denver?

Mr. MURRAY. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever hear of Carl Campbell?

Mr. MURRAY. No; I don't believe I have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This communication is signed by Carl Campbell, addressed to "Dear Henry," and reads as follows:

This letter will transfer out of our District a comrade who was very active here, but has been away for some time. His book number is 1778, but I am not sure he has his old book with him. He owes us 75 cents for last year's dues, which we will collect. We will use this money to buy stamps and then will cancel them. You can start him out with January, 1940.

This comrade now lives in Washington, D. C., and I don't think it advisable to write instructions to him. Therefore in this particular case I will give you his name and address; Emmet Murray, 3716 Jennifer Street, Northwest,

Washington, D. C. Please see that the proper people get in touch with him at once. You can give them this letter so that he will know they are all right, or at least give them my name. This should also serve as credentials for bringing him into the Party in case you think that advisable.

Signed: CARL CAMPBELL.

And we will introduce evidence to show that Carl Campbell is the secretary of the Communist Party in Denver, Colo.

The CHAIRMAN. What have you to say to that?

Mr. MURRAY. That was a membership in the Young Communist League in Denver.

The CHAIRMAN. In the Young Communist League?

Mr. MURRAY. Which is a separate organization, a separate set-up, so far as I understood when I joined it.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you didn't know who this Campbell was.

Mr. MURRAY. No; I don't know who he is. It may be some name he uses.

The CHAIRMAN. You, in other words, are a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have been a member how long?

Mr. MURRAY. Oh, let's see; I have been here a year—it has been about 2 years now. In Denver I was a member about a year.

The CHAIRMAN. How old are you?

Mr. MURRAY. Twenty-five.

The CHAIRMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. MURRAY. Denver, Colo.

The CHAIRMAN. You say you are a member of the Young Communist League. Have you ever applied for admission to the Communist Party?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have the "proper people," so designated here, gotten in touch with you yet?

Mr. MURRAY. No; they have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They haven't gotten in touch with you yet?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Who in the Government Printing Office besides yourself that you know of are members of the Young Communist League?

Mr. MURRAY. None that I know of there.

The CHAIRMAN. You have had no contacts with anyone in the Government Printing Office?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who represented to you either as a member of the Young Communist League or of the Communist Party?

Mr. MURRAY. That is right; no one.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have anything to do with the distribution, issuance or distribution, of Communist literature in the branch of the Communist Party in the Government Printing Office?

Mr. MURRAY. No; I haven't. I haven't taken any activity here at all in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever see any of the leaflets that were designated—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here is one.

The CHAIRMAN. Designated "Government Printing Office worker, January 1939."

Mr. MURRAY. That was before I came here. I have never seen any of these, anyway.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you have been here have you seen any of these papers?

Mr. MURRAY. I have never seen any literature, nothing to do with the Printing Office at all. A few months ago I signed the notice sent around to the Government Printing Office saying any employee who was a member of a subversive organization would be released from Government employment. I signed that unreservedly, since I was not a member of the Young Communist League, since I had not joined since then, and I signed it because I do believe in the ideals of American democracy.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you resigned from the Young Communist League?

Mr. MURRAY. I haven't tendered my resignation. I just was not active; I ceased activity.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you received any notification of your being dropped?

Mr. MURRAY. No; but I imagine they will get hold of me, especially as they see it in the papers now. I imagine they will crack down.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Murray, how long did you say you were a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. MURRAY. In Denver, about a year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About a year?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What, briefly, is the connection between the Young Communist League and the Communist Party?

Mr. MURRAY. I was told, of course, they were entirely separate units; that is, they were people who were in the leadership of the Young Communist League who may have been party members. When I joined I strictly told them I did not want to become a Communist. I was out of work, I didn't know what to do, so I joined up, and I asked them, I said, "I don't want to take part in any Communist Party activities." Of course, I didn't know much about it, and I just joined up.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a student in Denver?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was not your home?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; but I was not going to school.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the Young Communist League an affiliated body of the Communist International?

Mr. MURRAY. I don't know whether they are affiliated or not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you call it a section?

Mr. MURRAY. I don't know what they call it there. We don't have much so-called leadership back there like they do here in the East. Here in the East they have big organizations; back there we don't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They told you the main leadership of the Young Communist League was in the East?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But they did teach you that the Young Communist League had some organic connection with the Communist International?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; with the Y. C. I.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The Young Communist International, and the Young Communist International, in turn, is also affiliated with the Communist International?

Mr. MURRAY. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. There has been evidence introduced here to show there is that organic connection, and that at the Congress of the Communist International the Young Communist International is entitled to delegates. On the executive committee of the Communist International there sits a representative of the Young Communist League of the United States. Do you know that?

Mr. MURRAY. No. I knew they sent delegates, so-called fraternal delegates, as I understood.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of your year's membership in the Young Communist League in Denver, you did discover there was a very close relationship between the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, did you not?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; those people would come around and give us talks.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Instructions which were meant for members of the Communist Party as to the positions which they should take on various questions were equally available to members of the Young Communist League; is that not correct?

Mr. MURRAY. I imagine. I didn't see any of the written documents or anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just what was the period of your membership in the Denver league? Do you remember the month?

Mr. MURRAY. It would be from about December 1938 until March, when I came here.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, young man, how old are you?

Mr. MURRAY. Twenty-five.

The CHAIRMAN. That made you 23 when you joined?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; about.

The CHAIRMAN. You were 23 years of age. Were you a graduate of high school?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes. North Denver High.

The CHAIRMAN. Where?

Mr. MURRAY. North Denver High School.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you employed after you were a graduate of the high school?

Mr. MURRAY. I worked for about a year as a porter in the Denver Dry Goods.

The CHAIRMAN. In a garage there?

Mr. MURRAY. No; Denver Dry Goods, a department store.

The CHAIRMAN. Then did you become unemployed?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How long were you unemployed?

Mr. MURRAY. From January 1938 until the present time, when I got this Government Printing Office job.

The CHAIRMAN. From January 1938 until—

Mr. MURRAY. March or April of 1939.

The CHAIRMAN. A period of 3 years?

Mr. MURRAY. No; a year and 3 months.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right. Who approached you to join the Young Communist League?

Mr. MURRAY. It was through a Y. C. L. person in the North High.

The CHAIRMAN. Through who?

Mr. MURRAY. Through a Y. C. L. in the North Denver High School.

The CHAIRMAN. A member who was in the high school?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; I had seen him often down there.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he on the faculty, or the student body?

Mr. MURRAY. The student body.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his name?

Mr. MURRAY. It was Henderson; Alec Henderson.

The CHAIRMAN. How old was he, approximately?

Mr. MURRAY. I don't know; about my age, or maybe a little older.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he say to you as the reason you should join?

Mr. MURRAY. Well, he talked over things that were not interesting me much, about unemployment and organizing the mass industries, and so on, but when he talked about—I am interested in political science, and when he talked from that angle I thought I would join and see what it was all about.

He said the dues were not much, and we would have a lot of fun.

The CHAIRMAN. You would have a lot of fun?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have a lot of fun while you were in it?

Mr. MURRAY. Oh, I had a little bit. They didn't do much. I was kind of disappointed. They kept saying they were going to do big things, and then those things would peter out.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they teach you at the meetings?

Mr. MURRAY. At most of them we just talked about unemployment, and there were discussions, discussions of all political—

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Soviet Union?

Mr. MURRAY. They sort of soft-pedaled that at that time, because the Soviet Union was having these purges. The fellows didn't seem to know what it was all about, and they said they had better not talk about it until they found out.

The CHAIRMAN. They said they had not gotten an explanation?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And they were waiting for some explanation with reference to the purges?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; they said the boys were not very clear on that.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What do you mean by the purges?

Mr. MURRAY. When they had those trials in Moscow about that time, I believe it was.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Which resulted in a lot of deaths?

Mr. MURRAY. I guess. That is what the papers said; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So they decided the best thing to do was to soft-pedal about the Soviet Union until such time as that cleared up?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; that is what they told me when I asked questions about it.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't they picture to you and the other members that the Soviet Union was the ideal form of government.

Mr. MURRAY. Oh, they said everything was O. K. over there; it was just they did not understand what was going on.

The CHAIRMAN. They said everything was O. K., but they didn't understand what was going on?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they say the ultimate aim was to establish a government in the United States like that of the Soviet Union?

Mr. MURRAY. No; they didn't stress that. At that time the policy was just to support democracy in this country, spread democracy in this country to the so-called working classes.

The CHAIRMAN. Working classes. But how would they refer to it? What kind of a government did they say they wanted to establish?

Mr. MURRAY. Well, at that time the thing they seemed to stress all the time was America; that is, to keep America as it was, as a democracy, and spread it. They didn't talk a good deal about socialism in America.

The CHAIRMAN. They didn't?

Mr. MURRAY. No. I asked them in connection with that, and they said they would wait and see how developments were going.

The CHAIRMAN. They said they would wait for developments?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes. What I understood them to mean was they would try to get something possibly other than socialism here. I didn't attend enough of the meetings to really get into that.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have any lecturers who talked to groups there? Did you have any Communists lecture to the group?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; there was Bill Dietrich, who came down twice.

The CHAIRMAN. Bill who?

Mr. MURRAY. Dietrich.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you spell Dietrich?

Mr. MURRAY. D-i-e-t-r-i-c-h.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did he come from?

Mr. MURRAY. Denver. He runs a book store there.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he a known Communist there?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He lectured to your group twice?

Mr. MURRAY. Twice; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he lecture on?

Mr. MURRAY. One was on some sort of unemployment administration they were holding there, and he came down and told us all the ramifications of unemployment, and so on; the other one, he came to us and talked about peace in the international situation; just a general talk.

The CHAIRMAN. Did any other Communist lecture to your group while you were active there?

Mr. MURRAY. Not while I attended.

The CHAIRMAN. Who else spoke?

Mr. MURRAY. We spoke among ourselves. I forget the name. I think his name was Bud Tanner, who was at the head.

The CHAIRMAN. You had no job during that period?

Mr. MURRAY. I was working just occasionally at the Denver Dry Goods. They would call me back for a couple of days a week. I worked possibly a month out of the whole year, 30 days.

The CHAIRMAN. Where does Henderson work?

Mr. MURRAY. He came in and introduced me to this group there. I saw him at a couple of the meetings and didn't see him any more.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they approach you to join the Communist Party at any time?

Mr. MURRAY. No. They occasionally would talk about—other members would talk about going to meetings, but I never attended any of the party meetings.

The CHAIRMAN. You never attended any of the party meetings, but other members of your group did attend the party meetings?

Mr. MURRAY. They evidently did, from what I heard them talk.

The CHAIRMAN. You were in the Young Communist League about a year?

Mr. MURRAY. That is right; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you left Denver?

Mr. MURRAY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You got a job here in Washington?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you came to Washington. Did you notify anyone in the Young Communist League you were coming to Washington?

Mr. MURRAY. No, sir; except the Denver people knew I was coming here.

The CHAIRMAN. The Denver people knew you were coming here. How did they know you were coming here?

Mr. MURRAY. Just that I had a job in Washington. They thought it was swell.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know they were communicating with anyone in the Communist Party about your removal to Washington?

Mr. MURRAY. No; but I imagined they would. I didn't know whether they would do it or not. I didn't particularly care, since I was working here and had something to do. I didn't pay much attention to it.

The CHAIRMAN. When you came to Washington, were you at any time contacted by anyone representing himself as connected with the Communist Party or the Young Communist League?

Mr. MURRAY. No; I haven't been yet.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a Young Communist League here in Washington, isn't there?

Mr. MURRAY. I suppose so; I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. But you never were contacted?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. No one ever approached you on the subject from the time you came to Washington until the present moment?

Mr. MURRAY. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. And you have not paid any dues in the Young Communist League since you came to Washington?

Mr. MURRAY. No. A fellow in Denver wrote me; the one I mentioned, Bud Tanner. He asked me if I wanted to keep up my dues back there and I said "no," I didn't care to.

Mr. MASON. I would like to know whether it was someone in the Young Communist League that made your contact, so that you got your present position?

Mr. MURRAY. You mean in the Government Printing Office?

Mr. MASON. Yes.

Mr. MURRAY. No; I just took a civil-service examination in October 1938.

Mr. MASON. In Denver?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes; in Denver.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you a member of the American Youth Congress in Denver?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever take any college work after your graduation?

Mr. MURRAY. Not until I came here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you belong to the American Student Union in the North Denver High School?

Mr. MURRAY. No. They held one meeting, I think, under the auspices of that. I don't know what group it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Young Communist League exercise some supervision over the general life and activity of its members in Denver, Mr. Murray?

Mr. MURRAY. No; they talked about being supposed to do that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They call that discipline, don't they?

Mr. MURRAY. No; there they talked more on the social plane; that if we had activities, people would be interested in it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here a memorandum which may suggest similar occurrences in Denver. This is a memorandum from the files of the Communist Party headquarters in Baltimore, and has to do with a member of the Young Communist League. The memorandum reads in part as follows:

The Regional Committee of Maryland and Washington, D. C., at its meeting on November 3rd, voted to sharply censure Joan Davis and proposed that she be removed from the post of Regional Administrative Secretary. It was recommended that Joan not be assigned to any leading position in the Young Communist League until such a time as she has proven through study and contact with working class youth to have mastered the fundamental understanding of the meaning of Trotskyism.

About October 5th Joan's brother came to Baltimore while on a tour for a Trotskyite organization. While in town he was cordially received by Joan and Roy. They had dinner with him in a restaurant. At the dinner table careless remarks were passed by Joan and Roy, which could only serve the intrigues of the Trotskyites. Attention was called to the incorrectness of such a friendly attitude even though he be a brother. Nevertheless he was invited to stay overnight in Joan's home.

Did the Young Communist League in Denver exercise that kind of supervision over its members?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you think that was because it was not near enough to the East?

Mr. MURRAY. That is what they said.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They have to be a lot more lax in discipline?

Mr. MURRAY. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did they try to teach you what Trotskyism was?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you master the meaning of Trotskyism?

Mr. MURRAY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, it is nearly 12 o'clock and the committee has a resolution to be taken up promptly at the convening of the House. I don't know how long it will take. We have Mr. Lawry who wants to be heard, that is, Congressman Dunn wants Mr. Lawry to be heard. His name was mentioned in connection with the testimony given by Mr. Dolsen. We want to hear him as quickly

as we can, but we will have to adjourn for the time being, subject to the call of the Chair, and I don't know just when we can meet. We will, however, adjourn, subject to the call of the Chair.

Mr. MASON. With the understanding that it will be as early this afternoon as possible?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. The people under subpoena will keep in contact with the committee office upstairs, and we will notify them of the exact time we will resume our session.

The committee stands adjourned.

(Thereupon, at 11:55 a. m., the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the chairman.)

#### AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened at 1 p. m., pursuant to the taking of the recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Is Mr. Lawry here?

#### STATEMENT OF RICHARD H. LAWRY, WEST HOMESTEAD, PA., PRESIDENT, PITTSBURGH DISTRICT INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ORDER

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Lynch.

Mr. LYNCH. Will you give your full name, please?

Mr. LAWRY. Richard H. Lawry.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the transcript, Mr. Lynch?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Of what was actually said?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes. The question was, of Mr. Dolsen, "Mr. Dolsen, do you know Richard R. Lawry?"

That is spelled L-a-u-r-y. It should be "w", should it not?

Mr. LAWRY. Richard H.

Mr. LYNCH. Richard H. is correct?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. He said; "I do; yes, sir."

The next question was: "He is a former burgess of Homestead?"

Mr. DOLSEN. West Homestead.

Mr. BARKER. West Homestead?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. He is president of the International Workers Order, Pittsburgh District?

Mr. DOLSEN. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And he is a Communist too, is he not?

Mr. DOLSEN. He certainly is not.

Mr. BARKER. He is not a Communist?

Mr. DOLSEN. No.

That is the end of it, so far as this witness is concerned.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you ask the witness some questions so he can develop his position?

Mr. LAWRY. I would like to make a statement—

The CHAIRMAN. We have had a rule of confining the procedure to questions and answers. We will bring it out.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Dempsey also asked a question of the witness later on in the testimony, as follows:

Mr. DEMPSEY. What became of Mr. Lawry?

Mr. DOLSEN. What became of Mr. Lawry?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Yes.

Mr. DOLSEN. He was appointed at the solicitation of the Democratic organization in Pittsburgh to be census director of the city of Pittsburgh.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He is in charge of the district as census director?

Mr. DOLSEN. Yes; he is in charge of the district as census director.

Mr. LAWRY. are you the census director of the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. LAWRY. I was the supervisor of the third and fourth districts, Pennsylvania.

Mr. LYNCH. When were you appointed?

Mr. LAWRY. When?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. LAWRY. December 18, is when I became——

Mr. LYNCH. 1939?

Mr. LAWRY. 1939.

Mr. LYNCH. You still hold that position?

Mr. LAWRY. I was suspended from my position.

Mr. LYNCH. When?

Mr. LAWRY. One day this week, about Tuesday of this week.

Mr. LYNCH. As the result of this evidence?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you appointed at the solicitation of the Democratic organization?

Mr. LAWRY. I was not.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you burgess of West Homestead?

Mr. LAWRY. I was.

Mr. LYNCH. When?

Mr. LAWRY. From 1934 to 1938. I have held office for 18 years, other positions.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. LAWRY. I do.

Mr. LYNCH. How long have you known him?

Mr. LAWRY. I knew him as the secretary, I believe, of the Workers Alliance.

Mr. LYNCH. Workers Alliance?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes. He held some position in it; I believe it was secretary. I spoke before them many times.

Mr. LYNCH. What is the Workers Alliance?

Mr. LAWRY. An organization of, I believe, unemployed, and those who work on W. P. A.

Mr. LYNCH. What years were you speaking before the Workers Alliance?

Mr. LAWRY. Well, ever since their inception. Before that I think it was the Unemployed Council, or something. I spoke before them.

Mr. LYNCH. And it was in that connection that you met Mr. Dolsen?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you had any other contact with him except that?

Mr. LAWRY. Never.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever see him at any of the meetings?

Mr. LAWRY. Not to my knowledge; no.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever speak to any organization of which he is a member or connected with?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know of any other organization that he is a member of except the International Workers Order, of which I am the district president.

Mr. LYNCH. International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Of which you are president?

Mr. LAWRY. District president.

Mr. LYNCH. And what is the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. A fraternal benefit society, serving labor with sick and death benefits.

Mr. LYNCH. Do they have regular insurance policies?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know that Dolsen is a member of that same organization?

Mr. LAWRY. I do.

Mr. LYNCH. Would you be the one who would have charge of transferring the beneficiary under his policy?

Mr. LAWRY. No; I am just the district president. We don't have anything to do with the operation of the insurance at all. They do that all in New York.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What does the district president have to do with?

Mr. LAWRY. We are the contact between the branches or lodges and the national office, kind of a coordinating group. There is just myself and a youth director there in the employ, and one girl in the office.

Mr. LYNCH. You say you are the district president of the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right. For 4 years I have been elected. I am not appointed; I am elected by the delegates.

Mr. LYNCH. About 3 years ago did you attempt to have a meeting in the town of Jeannette, Pa.?

Mr. LAWRY. Two years? I believe it would be about 2 years.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you permitted to hold a meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know anything about that. I know there were arrangements made to have Mr. Allen and Mr. Dunn and Father Cox and another man, the head of the mine workers union, speak at a district meeting there.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was the man from the head of the United Mine Workers, Frank Hughes?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did he refuse to speak?

Mr. LAWRY. No; he did not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Because it was a communistic group?

Mr. LAWRY. No; he did not. He agreed to speak; I went to his office.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did Mr. Allen refuse to speak?

Mr. LAWRY. Who?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Congressman Allen.

Mr. LAWRY. He did not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He did not?

Mr. LAWRY. I didn't talk with him, but another man got the information.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Were you arranging the meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. I was district manager, and I went there to see the mayor, who agreed to speak.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did the mayor permit the meeting to be held?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand he called the meeting off.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand he said it was a Communist organization.

Mr. DEMPSEY. There is no doubt about it, is there?

Mr. LAWRY. There is in my mind, of course. I am the district president, and I am certainly not a Communist?

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know Max Bedacht?

Mr. LAWRY. I do.

Mr. LYNCH. Is he a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I have read it in the papers. I have never asked him personally.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever talked to him?

Mr. LAWRY. I have.

Mr. LYNCH. Don't you know from his statement he is a member of the Communist Party; that he is a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand so from the newspapers.

Mr. LYNCH. He is a member of the Central Committee?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know about that.

Mr. LYNCH. You know he is general secretary of the International Workers Order, do you not?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know William Weiner?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. He is national chairman of it?

Mr. LAWRY. National president.

Mr. LYNCH. You know he is an admitted Communist, don't you?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know William Z. Foster?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know him.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know of him by name?

Mr. LAWRY. I do by name; yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is he?

Mr. LAWRY. In 1919, when I was interested in the organization of the steel workers, he was leading the union at that time in the Pittsburgh district.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is he a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand so from the newspapers.

Mr. LYNCH. You know he is national chairman of the Communist Party, don't you?

Mr. LAWRY. I wouldn't say I do know it.

Mr. LYNCH. Don't you know that as a matter of public knowledge?

Mr. DUNN (Congressman from Pennsylvania). I don't so understand it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are not on the stand, Mr. Dunn.

Mr. DUNN. May I interrupt?

The CHAIRMAN. No, Mr. Dunn; you are not testifying.

Mr. DUNN. I know, but my name has been brought in before the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't understand that it has.

Mr. DUNN. Yes; the gentleman didn't even read it. My name was brought in here in the papers the other day.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name was not brought in in the course of any of this committee's investigation.

MR. DUNN. Yes, it was, by Mr. Barker or somebody, when I asked to speak in behalf of Mr. Lawry, because there was a misstatement made.

MR. DEMPSEY. I suggest we proceed in order here.

THE CHAIRMAN. If you want to testify about anything, Mr. Dunn, we will have to put you under oath.

MR. DUNN. All right. There; I raise my hand. I am willing to testify, glad to have the opportunity.

THE CHAIRMAN. Wait. We have a witness on now for examination.

MR. LYNCH. Mr. Lawry, when a person would transfer the beneficiary under his certificate from one person to another, would it come through your office?

MR. LAWRY. No.

MR. LYNCH. Where would it come through?

MR. LAWRY. It would go to the lodge or branch wherein the person is a member, and be sent to the national office—

MR. LYNCH. Where is the lodge or branch in Pittsburgh?

MR. LAWRY. There are 269 lodges under my jurisdiction in western Pennsylvania.

MR. LYNCH. And how many members would there be in those 269 lodges?

MR. LAWRY. We have about 15,000 adults and about 5,000 juniors, over 20,000 members.

MR. LYNCH. How many schools do you conduct in that district?

MR. LAWRY. No schools.

MR. LYNCH. No schools of the International Workers Order in that district?

MR. LAWRY. No, sir; not under my jurisdiction.

MR. VOORHIS. These 20,000 people, what are they? What does that number represent, the number of members of the International Workers?

MR. LAWRY. That is the membership.

MR. VOORHIS. When you say that, that means all those people have insurance with you?

MR. LAWRY. That is right, all insured members, and it is located from Erie, Pa., from the West Virginia border line to the Ohio border line, and then around Johnstown, probably 300 miles one way and 200 the other.

MR. LYNCH. Are there any members who do not have insurance certificates?

MR. LAWRY. No.

MR. LYNCH. Give us a little more detail as to what your duties would be in connection with the International Workers Order.

MR. LAWRY. Well, most of my duties is attending meetings. That is, I go out and speak at meetings.

MR. LYNCH. What sort of meetings would you speak at?

MR. LAWRY. Membership meetings, mostly.

MR. LYNCH. Where there would be persons who would solicit membership, and you go out and give them sort of pep talks, to try to get more members?

MR. LAWRY. That is right.

MR. LYNCH. Do you have a list of those workers, or where would the list be of persons who would go out and secure new members?

Mr. LAWRY. In the hands of whichever lodges they belong to.

Mr. LYNCH. Wouldn't they be in the central office in Pittsburgh?

Mr. LAWRY. In New York, not in Pittsburgh. We don't have the names.

Mr. LYNCH. In New York would there be a list of the entire membership of the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes; because they all get magazines, and they all go through the post office each month.

Mr. LYNCH. That would be at 50 East Thirteenth Street?

Mr. LAWRY. No, no.

Mr. LYNCH. What is the address?

Mr. LAWRY. 80 Fifth Avenue, New York.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Chairman, that is all I have. Dr. Matthews says he would like to ask some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lawry, you said you had spoken on numerous occasions for unemployment councils?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes; I have spoken thousands of times before practically every kind of organization, Republican, Democratic, Socialist, Communist, unemployed, labor. For 30 years I have been in the progressive and labor movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You didn't know at the time you spoke to the Unemployed Council that they were an auxiliary organization of the Communist Party, did you?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Didn't you know that that was fully and freely and frequently stated in the publications of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. Mr. Matthews, as burgess of my town, everybody was allowed to come and speak.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not arguing about that. I am asking if you did not know the Unemployed Councils were fully and wholly and frequently described both by the Unemployed Councils and by the Communist Party as an auxiliary organization?

Mr. LAWRY. I didn't know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever meet the head of the Unemployed Council, Mr. Herbert Benjamin?

Mr. LAWRY. No; I don't believe I ever met him. I have heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Mr. Herbert Benjamin was the head of the Unemployed Council?

Mr. LAWRY. I knew he was in some way connected with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew he was an outstanding Communist of the United States, didn't you?

Mr. LAWRY. I heard so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And subsequently he became head of the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. LAWRY. When I say he was a Communist, I didn't know that. I knew he was connected with the Workers' Alliance. I didn't know any Unemployed Councils as such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you in your association with Mr. Dolsen know he was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. I did not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He said he was not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. I never carried on any conversation with him at all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were not interested?

Mr. LAWRY. I only met him just casually. He came to the office and asked me to speak at meetings, or called me on the telephone, and I went to the meetings and spoke, when held under his auspices, or auspices with which he was connected.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you understand the workings of auxiliary organizations of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything about their "united front" tactics?

Mr. LAWRY. If you ask me the question—I don't know just what you mean.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am asking you if you understood the way the Communist Party worked through organizations such as Unemployed Councils, Workers Alliance, International Workers' Order, for the purpose of bringing in a large number of persons who were not Communists, into their activities to further their ultimate purpose through partial steps. Was that clear to you?

Mr. LAWRY. If I would be permitted to make a statement here, I would merely say I am a realist, and I struggle and fight for everything that affects the immediate interests of the workers, and that is all, and for that reason I participated in the daily struggles of the workers, whether it is labor, political, or whatever it may be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Including the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. I said I fight for bread, butter, shoes, jobs, peace, security for the workers. That is what I am interested in today. I did not ever belong to the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You wouldn't be interested in anything—

Mr. LAWRY. I am not interested.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You wouldn't be interested in knowing the purposes of the Communist Party in having you speak before one of their organizations?

Mr. LAWRY. Well, I have never been invited to speak before one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said you had been frequently a speaker before the Unemployment Councils, Workers Alliance—

Mr. LAWRY. I have spoken on numerous occasions, no matter what it was.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you are the district president of the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know the Special Committee on Un-American Activities has frowned at both the Workers Alliance and the International Workers' Order as purely front organizations of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. That may be so, but I am district president, and I am not a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Talking about the speeches you have made, have you ever made any speeches under the auspices of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. Never.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever spoken at Communist Party meetings?

Mr. LAWRY. I spoke at an open meeting several years ago, as State president of the then Farmer-Labor Party that was being organized,

I think 4 or 5 years ago, at the Carnegie Music Hall. I think they were part of the various organizations that were participating. But I spoke also with some members of the State legislature. I don't know whether any Member of Congress spoke there or not, but I believe there were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with Leon Platt?

Mr. LAWRY. I never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or Martin Young?

Mr. LAWRY. I have met Martin Young.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have met Martin Young?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. While he was secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. About a year ago, I believe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You didn't know his real name was Leon Platt?

Mr. LAWRY. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Was Martin Young active in any labor union in the Pittsburgh area?

Mr. LAWRY. I couldn't tell you. I don't know anything about that. They let me distinctly alone, I am sure.

Mr. LYNCH. Mr. Lawry, do you know George Powers?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes; I do.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that him sitting back in the second row?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever see him talk with Martin Young?

Mr. LAWRY. No; I did not. I didn't know him until several months ago.

Mr. LYNCH. When did you see George Powers?

Mr. LAWRY. I was introduced to him some place.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever been in the Communist Party headquarters?

Mr. LAWRY. If you can tell me where it is at.

Mr. LYNCH. 305 Seventh Avenue.

Mr. LAWRY. Never.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you meet Martin Young?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know. I believe I met him at Claireton.

Mr. LYNCH. What was the occasion?

Mr. LAWRY. A meeting of the C. I. O., an organizational drive, seeking to organize the steel industry. It was a good many years ago, in 1936 or 1937.

Mr. LYNCH. Martin Young was a C. I. O. organizer then?

Mr. LAWRY. Not to my knowledge. I didn't know who he was.

Mr. LYNCH. He was at a C. I. O. organization meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. There was a meeting held that day, and I believe I was introduced to him. I was one of the speakers at this meeting.

Mr. LYNCH. And he was there; is that correct?

Mr. LAWRY. If I remember, I think that was the place I met him.

Mr. LYNCH. Did he speak?

Mr. LAWRY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Was he on the speakers' platform?

Mr. LAWRY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Had you ever met him before?

Mr. LAWRY. No; I had not.

Mr. LYNCH. That was the first and only time you met him?

Mr. LAWRY. I think so.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever meet him after that?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Frequently?

Mr. LAWRY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. How often did you see him or meet him?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't believe I had met him more than four or five times.

Mr. LYNCH. How often have you seen George Powers in the last 3 or 4 years?

Mr. LAWRY. Several times, three or four times.

Mr. LYNCH. Three or four times a year?

Mr. LAWRY. Oh, no.

Mr. LYNCH. All together?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. You knew he was head of the Communist Party in the Pittsburgh area, didn't you?

Mr. LAWRY. I didn't; no, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did he ever tell you he was?

Mr. LAWRY. He did not. He worked in McKeesport, to my knowledge.

Mr. LYNCH. In McKeesport. What was he doing there?

Mr. LAWRY. He lived there.

Mr. LYNCH. What was his work there?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been a member of the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. I was elected in 1936, 1937, and 1939.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that when you joined?

Mr. LAWRY. No, no.

Mr. LYNCH. I asked how long you have been a member.

Mr. LAWRY. I think in September, a year before, and the convention in April or May—

Mr. MATTHEWS. September 1935?

Mr. LAWRY. Either that or 1936.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who solicited you to join the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. I was burgess of West Homestead at the time, and someone in Homestead, I believe, first approached me, and after 3 or 4 months I read their constitution. I had been in the insurance business, and after reading their aims and purposes, I felt it was a pretty good organization to belong to, and I joined.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you well acquainted with the young man who solicited you?

Mr. LAWRY. I didn't know him prior to that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know anything about his political connections or background?

Mr. LAWRY. No. He just worked in the mill; he talked very poor English.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He may have been a Communist, so far as you know?

Mr. LAWRY. He may have been. I never knew of any Communist in Pittsburgh. It is the center of the steel industry. I never knew a single one, and I was born and raised there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. That covers that. You are excused.

Mr. LAWRY. May I place in the record that I am not now and never was a member of the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. We have covered that very fully.

Mr. LAWRY. I want to say that I certainly believe in building democracy within the present framework of our Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't regard Soviet Russia as a democratic country?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know anything about Soviet Russia, except this, that I know the big steel plant in our town sells them an awful lot of material, and the men down there are getting wages and buying bread from those orders they are getting, and they seem to be well satisfied in selling them material.

Mr. LYNCH. I submit he has not answered the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you brought it up yourself—

Mr. LAWRY. I don't go beyond the present day. I refuse to be mixed up in people's political beliefs.

The CHAIRMAN. But you brought it in yourself. You said you believed in democracy.

Mr. LAWRY. I do. I am fighting for democracy and to build democracy here in America within the framework of our Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. I just wanted to get your idea of a democracy. Do you regard the Soviet Union as a democratic state?

Mr. LAWRY. I am interested in a government form—

The CHAIRMAN. I understand, but have you an opinion one way or another on that?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't have. I don't study international affairs. I am interested in my kids and raising them here and getting a happier life for them here in America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you subscribe for the Fraternal Outlook?

Mr. LAWRY. I get it, because I am a member.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen articles in the Fraternal Outlook on the Soviet Union?

Mr. LAWRY. There may be. I don't often get a chance to read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know that in almost every issue of Fraternal Outlook there is some article on the Soviet Union?

Mr. LAWRY. I don't know. There may be; I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the Fraternal Outlook the official magazine of the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; that is all.

Mr. LAWRY. Thank you.

Mr. DUNN. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dunn, I don't believe—Mr. Lynch, will you look in the record—

Mr. LYNCH. I have looked, and I haven't seen anything.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name has not been mentioned in any of the hearings.

Mr. DUNN. Then I will apologize to the committee, Mr. Chairman, if my name has not been mentioned.

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is not mentioned one way or another.

Mr. DUNN. Let me say this. Just give me one minute.

The CHAIRMAN. I will tell you where we had that misunderstanding. You arose the other day and said you wanted to be heard, and I

said, "Mr. Dunn, we cannot permit interruptions at this time," but that was not in connection with any hearing or anything of that sort.

Mr. DUNN. No; but I do want to exonerate the committee. In yesterday's Pittsburgh papers an article appeared to the effect that some member of the committee here insulted me, and I became very angry. I want to go on record and inform the newspapers that no member of this committee ever insulted me. That is all I want to say.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

We have a telegram from the attorney of Clarence Hathaway—first, I want to say that Dr. Blumberg has been subpoenaed and he is on his way. He is not in the room, is he?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. We are going to stand adjourned and subject to the call of the Chair until Dr. Blumberg arrives.

However, we have a telegram from Mr. Clarence Hathaway's attorney to the effect that Mr. Hathaway has just returned from a 2 weeks' trip and is now engaged in indispensable preparations for trial in a libel case against him in New York, which will be called on April 2, and that a grave injustice obviously would be imposed on him if attendance at the committee at this time was enforced.

That is a matter for the committee's pleasure. We will take that under advisement, and will stand adjourned subject to call.

(Thereupon, at 1:35 p. m., an adjournment was taken, subject to the call of the Chairman.)

#### AFTER RECESS

(The committee reconvened at 4 p. m., pursuant to the taking of the recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

#### STATEMENT OF DR. ALBERT E. BLUMBERG, BALTIMORE, MD., STATE SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF MARYLAND AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

(The witness was duly sworn.)

The CHAIRMAN. What is your full name?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Albert Blumberg.

The CHAIRMAN. For the record, Mr. Cohn, are you Mr. Blumberg's attorney.

Mr. COHN. Yes, Mr. Dies.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that Mr. Cohn is appearing in behalf of Mr. Blumberg.

All right, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, where do you live?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I live in Baltimore.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your address?

Mr. BLUMBERG. 2523 Forest Park Avenue.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Since 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your official position in the Communist Party at the present time?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I am State Secretary of the Communist Party of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Baltimore, Md.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you hold any other position than that of State secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a director of the Workers' School of Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have been in the past; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are not now?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; not actively associated now. I teach courses there from time to time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are an instructor at the Workers' School?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you held the position of State secretary of the Communist Party of Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Since late October.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of 1939?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Of 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you formerly employed prior to that time?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I was employed as instructor in philosophy at Johns Hopkins University until the fall of 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. What is that, the fall of what year?

Mr. BLUMBERG. 1937. That is, from 1930 until the fall of 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. You were an instructor in philosophy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. At Johns Hopkins University.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you an instructor at Johns Hopkins University when you joined the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Since I was associated with the university, from 1930 until the fall of 1937, then, of course, I was associated with Johns Hopkins University during the years 1934, 1935, 1936, and 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember who it was who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was it someone in Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I joined the Communist Party in Baltimore.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you don't recall the person who is listed as the one who recruited you?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under what name are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. My membership book bears the name of Albert E. Blumberg.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it sometimes the practice of the Communist Party to have its members use what is known as a "party name"?

Mr. CONN. Mr. Chairman, may I object to this type of question? As to whether it is the general practice, or sometimes the practice?

The CHAIRMAN. The objection is overruled. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please answer the question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. There are obviously examples where—I have heard of examples where party books are made out in names which are not the real names of the individuals for whom those books are made.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say you have heard of such examples. Have any such examples gone through the routine of your own office?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I won't say that. I want to say that I decline to answer on the grounds that the information is personal and private, and I decline to answer any questions destined to identify individuals as members of the Communist Party on the ground that such questions are not pertinent to the purposes of the committee—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I haven't asked that.

Mr. BLUMBERG. As defined in the resolution establishing the committee, and they are—

The CHAIRMAN. Just answer the question he has asked.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Designed or may be used to establish a blacklist and victimize and intimidate people.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not the question he is asking you at this time. The question he is asking you—repeat it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was whether or not in his office, coming under his own immediate supervision, there have been cases where members used party names other than their own. I haven't asked him to identify any such persons.

The CHAIRMAN. That is quite a different question from what you made your objection to.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Well, I was simply anticipating further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have to anticipate. Just confine yourself to the particular question.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I can say that I know of some examples of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About how many such examples have come to your notice since last October when you assumed the State secretaryship?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have no way of knowing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What proportion? Have you any definite idea of that?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of the members who use names other than their own.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it be most of them?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have no idea just what proportion it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it be two or three examples?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members of the Communist Party are there in the district of which you are secretary?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The organization has approximately 1,000 members in this territory.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does that territory cover?

The CHAIRMAN. Before you go on there, may I state for the sake of the record that the committee is acting through a subcommittee composed of the chairman, Mr. Dempsey, and Mr. Mason, by appointment of the Chair. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state what territory is covered by the district of which you are secretary?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The State of Maryland and the District of Columbia.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all that is covered by your district?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is all that is covered.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of your work as secretary of the Communist Party of this district, you have come in contact with party records involving membership, have you not?

Mr. BLUMBERG. In the district of which I am secretary there are no records of party membership.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean to say there are not records of any kind pertaining to party membership?

Mr. BLUMBERG. There are no records which list party members in the district.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there any records that list any party members in the district?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No official records that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. For clarity's sake, I understood the witness said that in that district there are a thousand members of the party.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Approximately; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many in the District of Columbia and how many in Maryland? Can you divide it?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That again would be a very rough figure. I would say it is roughly half and half.

The CHAIRMAN. Half and half?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes, roughly. Those are rough figures.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean that there are records pertaining to membership in your district that are outside your district?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I don't mean anything like that. What I mean is I don't know of any records of party membership in our district.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That exist anywhere?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I know of none that exist anywhere.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have there been any such records in the past as to such membership?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know what happened in the past.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are putting it in the present tense, that there are no records. I am asking you if there have been records in the past.

Mr. COHN. He has already answered.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I was explaining what I meant by the question.

Mr. COHN. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know whether or not any records pertaining to membership have been destroyed?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have no knowledge of it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this piece of paper, if you can, as to what it would signify to you? Have you received such a document in that form?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It means nothing to me.

Mr. COHN. May I see that, please?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Have you ever received folded pieces of paper, pasted with strips of that kind, containing messages or information of any sort pertaining to matters of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I personally have received none.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen such?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have seen pieces of paper sometimes with something glued on there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did it contain messages?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have no way of knowing. I have no knowledge of such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the files which came from your headquarters in Baltimore, this piece of paper contained the following:

23,572 Barbara Hutton P. N., District 2, Kings, New York, 18, A. D., Section 7, to Baltimore.

Can you explain, Dr. Blumberg, what "P. N." stands for when it is placed after the name of a person in the records of memorandum of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any questions relating to records, alleged records taken in the visit of the committee representatives to the Baltimore office of the party yesterday, on the ground that that action——

The CHAIRMAN. Will you not make a general objection——

Mr. BLUMBERG. On the ground that that action I am advised and believe was unlawful and unconstitutional.

The CHAIRMAN. You are making it general. He asked you a specific question. Will you read the question?

(Whereupon the following question was read by the reporter:)

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the files which came from your headquarters in Baltimore, this piece of paper contained the following:

"23,572 Barbara Hutton P. N., District 2, Kings, New York, 18, A. D., Section 7, to Baltimore."

Can you explain, Dr. Blumberg, what "P. N." stands for when it is placed after the name of a person in the records or memorandum of the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer that question for the reason that you have previously stated?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer the question. Do you still decline?

Mr. COHN. May I consult with my client?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BLUMBERG (after consultation with counsel). With regard to the——

Mr. LYNCH. Just a minute. Mr. Chairman, I submit this witness should answer the question "Yes" or "No."

The CHAIRMAN. You have already stated your reason. Do you decline to answer that question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I wish to explain what "P. N." means.

Mr. LYNCH. I submit he should not be allowed to make a speech.

Mr. BLUMBERG. With regard to the question as to what "P. N." means, that in my opinion is an abbreviation which could mean "Party name."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Isn't it within your knowledge, Dr. Blumberg, that "P. N." always means "Party name," when it appears in this fashion?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I say it could mean that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever known it to mean anything else?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have very seldom encountered that abbreviation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have encountered it?

Mr. BLUMBERG. "P. N." can mean many things.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you say you have encountered it, even though seldom?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Very seldom.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you always interpret it as meaning "Party Name"?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do so interpret it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you encounter it?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In case the name of a member or a person connected with the party had the letters "R. N." after the name, what would that mean?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know. I have never encountered any such abbreviation.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen party records which had two names on a document, one with "P. N." after the name, and the other with "R. N." after the name?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Not that I can recall; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Barbara Hutton, known as such by her party name, a member of the Communist Party in Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, for reasons previously given, I decline to answer any question designed to identify any individual as a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get you to do is to say whether you decline to answer this particular question.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer this question, and any such question designed to identify——

The CHAIRMAN. We will get to the others. Do I understand you decline to answer this particular question for the reasons you previously stated?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes. I decline to answer any question regarding the party status of an individual, and this is such a question.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you, do you decline to answer this particular question for the reasons stated?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; since this question relates to alleged party membership.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer the question. Do you still decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; I decline.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I would now like to ask the witness if he knows the person referred to in this document, without asking him to identify the person?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I do not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you acquainted with the records of the Young Communist League in Baltimore, Mr. Blumberg?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I am not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the secretary of the Young Communist League in Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer——

Mr. MATTHEWS. Isn't that a matter of public record?

Mr. BLUMBERG. On the ground that this question is not germane to the purposes of the inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer the question. Do you still decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This morning there was introduced into evidence before this committee, Dr. Blumberg, a memorandum which had to do with the removal of Joan Davis from the post of regional administrative secretary of the Young Communist League in Baltimore on the ground that Joan Davis had had dinner with her brother and had then invited him to stay overnight in her home, and furthermore that her brother was identified by this memorandum as being on tour for a Trotskyite organization.

Do you know the Joan Davis referred to in this document?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, for reasons previously stated, I decline to answer any question concerning documents taken from the office.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer this question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer this question or any question—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer this question. Do you still decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline, because I believe them to have been improperly seized.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a canceled check dated January 25, 1938, on the Drivers & Mechanics office, Maryland Trust Co., "Pay to the order of A. Benson, \$161.87," signed by the Communist Party of Maryland, Joan Davis, secretary, district office.

Will you identify that check?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer any questions concerning the material taken from the office yesterday, on the ground—

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer this question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer any question—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to do so.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to do so on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you identify this check as having gone through your office?

The CHAIRMAN. What check is it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The check is dated Baltimore, Md., October 28, 1938, payable to A. Benson, for \$167.27, signed Joan Davis, secretary, Communist Party, Maryland.

The CHAIRMAN. What question are you asking with reference to that check?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If he will identify this check.

The CHAIRMAN. That doesn't purport to have any signature of his on it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is a check which was obtained from the files of the Communist Party in Baltimore.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. Let me ask you this, Doctor: Did you ever see that check before?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer any question in relation to the documents taken yesterday, on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. If you will just confine it to the particular question. I am asking you did you ever see that check before. You decline to answer?

Mr. COHN. He declines to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Although the Chair requires you to do so?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer.

Mr. COHN. Mr. Chairman, may I say we may be able to save a good deal of time if, instead of taking these documents singly—this witness has already stated a blanket objection.

The CHAIRMAN. We will determine the course of the procedure, with your permission.

Mr. LYNCH. May I suggest that these two checks be marked by the reporter No. 1 and No. 2?

**(The checks referred to were thereupon marked, respectively, "Exhibit No. 1 and Exhibit No. 2, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I hold a check dated Baltimore, Md., October 8, 1938, payable to A. Benson, for \$382.70, signed Communist Party of Maryland, Joan Davis, secretary, district office.

Have you ever seen that check?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer the question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to do so, and you decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. On the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask you if you know who A. Benson is?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any question relating to individuals other than myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer this particular question. Do you know who A. Benson is?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. LYNCH. May that be marked "Exhibit No. 3"?

**(The check referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 3, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, do you know William Weiner?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have seen the name of William Weiner appearing in various publications. I don't know him personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know what position he has held in the past in the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I know nothing about his position with regard to any organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know nothing about his position?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you known anything about his position since you have been State secretary of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You don't know in October, you mean to say, that William Weiner was the financial secretary of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any question relating to the alleged membership in the Communist Party of any individual other than myself for the reasons previously given.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that, but he is asking you—

Mr. MATTHEWS. The witness has already stated he did not know it, and I thought it was only fair to give him an opportunity to say he did.

The CHAIRMAN. You said you did not know William Weiner?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know him personally.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And he also stated he did not know anything about any position he held in the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, he stated that. That is already on the record.

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right. I beg pardon—for the sake of the record, I stated I did not know anything about the position which he holds.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you said you did not know anything about him in connection with any position in the Communist Party.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I was then asked if I had ever known anything in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. The record will show what you said. Do you want the record read?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The record will show I decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. No; the record is not that. You did answer that question.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I said I knew nothing of his position.

Mr. LYNCH. Will the Chair direct him to answer that last question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Will you read the last question?

(Whereupon the reporter read the question referred to, as follows:)

You don't know in October, you mean to say, that William Weiner was the financial secretary of the Communist Party of the United States?

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer that question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer. Do you still decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I still decline.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, all three of these checks introduced so far are endorsed by A. Benson, and with the stamped endorsement of William Weiner. They are exhibits 1, 2, and 3. Dr. Blumberg, who is J. Fields? Do you know J. Fields?

Mr. COHN. May I have an opportunity to consult with my client?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. BLUMBERG (after consultation with counsel). Mr. Chairman, I have no personal recollection of J. Fields, or what his activities are.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know anyone by that name?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I don't recall anyone of that name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, I show you a check dated Baltimore, Md., January 26, 1940, "Pay to the order of J. Fields, \$100," signed "Communist Party of Maryland, Carl Brenn, Administrative Secretary."

Does that refresh your recollection as to who J. Fields might be?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any questions with regard to records unlawfully and unconstitutionally taken from our office yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer. Do you still decline?

Mr. COHN. Mr. Chairman—

The CHAIRMAN. What?

Mr. COHN. I didn't mean to interrupt, if you were about to say something.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on.

Mr. COHN. I wish to say there seems to be an objection made by the witness that this evidence——

The CHAIRMAN. We know what his objection is.

Mr. COHN. Has been unlawfully seized. It seems to me this committee should resolve that question of fact as to the method by which this material was brought here.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean to say, Dr. Blumberg, that the Communist Party of Maryland, of which you are the responsible head, would make out a check for \$100 to a person about whom you have no recollection?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again refuse to answer any questions with regard to the material——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Taken from our office yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. Stick with the particular question. Do you decline to answer this particular question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. This particular question has to do with material taken yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer. Do you decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this check be marked "Exhibit No. 4." It is endorsed "J. Fields, Workers Library Publishers, Inc."

**(The check referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 4, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here a check dated February 1, 1940, made payable to J. Fields, in the sum of \$100, by the Communist Party of Maryland, Carl Brenn, administrative secretary, and likewise endorsed "J. Fields, Workers' Library Publishers, Inc."

Did you authorize the payment of that sum?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer any questions with regard to material taken from our office yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires the witness to answer. The witness refuses.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do all expenditures made by the Communist Party of Maryland have to be O. K'd by you?

Mr. BLUMBERG. As the State secretary of the organization, I am acquainted with the expenditures that are made.

The CHAIRMAN. That doesn't answer his question. The question is: Do expenditures have to be authorized by you?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The expenditures have to be authorized by a committee, of which I would be one member.

The CHAIRMAN. What committee is that?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Most major expenditures would be authorized by the State executive committee.

The CHAIRMAN. The State executive committee?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are a member of the committee?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I am a member of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. And as secretary of the organization, does the committee control your actions?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It does.

Mr. LYNCH. Who are the other members of the committee, Mr. Blumberg?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any question which has for its purpose the identification of any individual——

The CHAIRMAN. Stick with this particular question.

Mr. BLUMBERG. As a member of the Communist Party or any——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer that particular question. You decline to do so?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed. Any other questions, Mr. Lynch?

Mr. LYNCH. That is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, would the sum of \$100 be considered a significant sum? You spoke of significant sums being brought before the State executive committee.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I believe so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the payment of \$100 to J. Fields come before the State executive committee for authorization?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer, Mr. Chairman, any questions regarding material taken unlawfully and unconstitutionally——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires the witness to answer the question.

Mr. BLUMBERG. From our office in Baltimore yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness declines to do so?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I request that this be marked as exhibit No. 5.

**(The check referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 5, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, I show you a check dated September 29, 1939, made payable to the order of William Weiner, for \$197.35, by the Communist Party of Maryland, Carl Brenn, administrative secretary.

Will you identify that as a payment made by your office?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again refuse to answer any question with regard to material taken unlawfully and unconstitutionally from our office in Baltimore yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires the witness to answer. The witness declines?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That will be exhibit No. 6.

**(The check referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 6, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, do you know A. Landy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any questions relating to any individuals and myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires the witness to answer the question. The witness declines; is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know, Dr. Blumberg, that A. Landy is the president of the publishing company that publishes the Daily Worker?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have seen the name of A. Landy printed on the masthead of the Daily Worker as president of the company.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What payments would be made by the Communist Party of America to A. Landy? Would they be payments for the Daily Worker?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The Communist Party of Maryland makes payments to New York for literature, copies of the Daily Worker, and similar supplies of material.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you make these payments to Mr. Landy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I again refuse to answer any questions with regard to any individuals—

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse to state whether or not in making payments to the Daily Worker the checks are made payable to Mr. Landy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; I refuse to answer any questions with regard to any individual.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires the witness to answer. The witness declines; is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a check dated Baltimore, Md., dated October 26, 1939, payable to the order of A. Landy, in the sum of \$50, signed "Communist Party of Maryland, Carl Brenn, administrative secretary," and the check is endorsed by the stamped signature of A. Landy.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. He hasn't asked anything.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please identify this as a payment made by the Communist Party of Maryland to A. Landy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer any questions relating to materials taken unlawfully and unconstitutionally from the office yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you answer the question as to whether or not the Communist Party of Maryland has made any payment to A. Landy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I previously stated I decline to answer any questions with regard to individuals other than myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer the question. The witness declines; is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this be marked as exhibit No. 7.

**(The check referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 7, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, about how much do the payments of the Communist Party of Maryland amount to each month to the Daily Worker?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have no papers with me that would indicate any exact figures. My best recollection—let us put it this way—that the

local office pays the Daily Worker for all copies received and sold in the city of Baltimore. Just how much that would amount to in the course of a week or month I can't give you an accurate figure on.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it amount to a sum as large as \$3,000 in the course of a year?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't believe so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What would be your estimate of the sum in the course of a year—inasmuch as payments may be made irregularly, month by month?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It is a very difficult thing to say, because the number of copies varies greatly from week to week and month to month, so I have no accurate figures on that question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you say the sum is more than \$2,500 in the course of a year?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I wouldn't be able to say.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no idea?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No, because it varies very much from week to week, and from month to month.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any recollection as to what it is in any given month?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you remember any month?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not. I personally do not take care of the Daily Worker account.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who does?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer any question with regard to the identification of any particular individual.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer the question as to who has charge of taking care of the payments to the Daily Worker?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer. You decline, is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is correct, for the reasons previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, isn't that person Ben Field?

Mr. BLUMBERG. What person?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The person who has charge of these Daily Worker accounts?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have previously declined to answer any questions—

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer. The witness declines, is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, I show you a letter dated March 15, 1940, addressed to Albert E. Blumberg, 501-D North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md., on the letterhead of the Daily Worker, 50 East Thirteenth Street, New York City, signed "Solomon, Circulation Department."

Did you receive that letter?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any question with regard to material taken from our office yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer this particular question?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer it. Do you still decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have another letter on the letterhead of the Daily Worker, addressed to Albert Blumberg, 501-A North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, Md., signed "Solomon."

Did you receive that communication?

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of the communication?

Mr. MATTHEWS. March 4, 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you receive that letter?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer any question with regard to material taken from our office yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer this particular question. You decline, is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that these letters be marked "Exhibits 8 and 9."

**(The letters referred to were thereupon marked "Exhibits Nos. 8 and 9.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have here a letter dated March 13, 1940, addressed to the Communist Party, Albert E. Blumberg, 501-D North Eutaw Street, Baltimore, on the letterhead of the Daily Worker, signed "Comradely yours, Ira Wallach, Circulation Manager."

Did you receive that letter?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer any question with regard to material taken unlawfully and unconstitutionally from our office in Baltimore.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer, and you still decline?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That will be "Exhibit 10."

**(The letter referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 10, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, are you acquainted with one H. J. Lawler?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The name is vaguely familiar.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any recollection of having had any conference with such person?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have no recollection.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is H. J. Lawler a member of the Communist Party in the State of Maryland?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer any questions with regard to any individual other than myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse to answer this particular question, although the Chair directs you to do so?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, here is a copy of a letter which was introduced into the record this morning, addressed "Dear Dr. Blumberg, Monday evening." It is signed H. J. Lawler.

Looking at that letter, can you identify it as having been received by you?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any questions with regard to any material which I contend was unlawfully and unconstitutionally taken from our office in Baltimore yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness refuses to answer this particular question, although the Chair directs him to do so. Is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, I show you a book which is called Communist Party of the U. S. A. 1938 Membership Book. Are you acquainted with this or similar books?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; I have seen such books.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you another Communist Party of the U. S. A. 1939 Membership Book. You are acquainted with that type of book also?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes, sir; I have seen those.

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a matter of fact, haven't you kept supplies of those books in your headquarters?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; we keep a certain number of blank membership books.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you keep them there for the purpose of issuing them to new members?

Mr. BLUMBERG. We do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you have issued such books?

Mr. BLUMBERG. We have.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the membership director of the Communist Party of Maryland?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to mention or otherwise designate any individual other than myself.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness declines to answer the question, although the chairman directs him to answer; is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is correct.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, in both these books there are cards inside the front and back, which appear to be placed there for the purpose of being detached. There is a perforated line. Will you please explain what is done to these cards when they are filled out according to instructions given on the cards themselves?

The first card has a number at the top and says, "I have received membership book," and a place for signature, and various identification, and then the notation, "Be sure to sign and return to the membership director."

Will you please state what the membership director does with these cards?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It is my impression when these cards are returned to the membership director that the cards are then destroyed. The only purpose served by this card is to indicate the member has received his book.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say it is your impression. Have you ever seen those cards destroyed?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever destroyed such cards?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Personally, no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Didn't you state a moment ago you had no knowledge of any records of the Communist party in Baltimore ever having been destroyed?

Mr. CONN. Mr. Chairman, may I say that is not what the testimony was?

The CHAIRMAN. The witness did say that.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I stated earlier that I have no personal knowledge of the destruction of records, in the sense of membership lists.

The CHAIRMAN. No; you said no records of the party. Do you want to qualify that?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, this is not a permanent record of the party. I am trying to indicate——

The CHAIRMAN. He didn't say anything about permanent. The question asked you earlier in the session was whether or not you had any recollection or were present or knew of any record of the party being destroyed, and you said no. You have just admitted that you were present when these pages that were torn off and sent to the membership director were destroyed.

Mr. BLUMBERG. What I am trying to indicate, Mr. Chairman, is that the pages that you refer to constitute simply temporary——fulfill a temporary function or purpose, which is to indicate the member has received the book.

The CHAIRMAN. But it is a record of the member who received the book, is it not?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It is a record of the member having received the book.

The CHAIRMAN. And it is sent to the membership director?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It is generally sent to the membership director.

The CHAIRMAN. For what purpose is it sent to the membership director?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Simply to indicate to the membership director that the book has been received.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would he want the information unless he was going to keep a record?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Because it is of concern to the membership director to know that the members have received their books.

The CHAIRMAN. How can he remember it, if he destroys them?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Because once the book has been received, there is no question remaining.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you mean if you have 1,000 books out, and the record is destroyed that they have been received, that this man would remember everyone that has received it?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I said before——

Mr. DEMPSEY. I didn't ask him what he said. I am asking you that. You say there is no other record of the membership books out?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I say there exists no list of members having books in our party organization.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You also said you have not destroyed any of the records, and now you say you do.

Mr. CONN. Mr. Chairman, may I say, if your definition of records includes letters and papers of this kind——

The CHAIRMAN. We didn't say anything about letters.

Mr. CONN. There seems to be a difference of definition.

The CHAIRMAN. No, there isn't. The witness said a moment ago this was a record.

Mr. COHN. The question was understood by the witness previously as referring to more permanent records. If you will give the witness a chance to clarify it—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I suggest the record be read. There was no reference to lists, or letters.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair understands that. The witness earlier said he had never been present and had no recollection of any records of the party being destroyed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or of any records pertaining to any members of the party.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't recall the last part that Mr. Matthews mentioned. What I did say and what I meant to say and what I had in mind when I used the term "records" was permanent membership records.

The CHAIRMAN. Your explanation, as I understand it, is this—that when a book is issued by—who issues the books?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The books are issued by the membership director.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean by that, who has custody of the books?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The membership director.

The CHAIRMAN. The membership director?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. No one else has custody of the books?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. He issues the books?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the object of him tearing off the record if as a moment ago you said the object was to know that the book was issued?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I beg your pardon. There seems to be some misunderstanding here.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish you would clarify it.

Mr. BLUMBERG. If you will examine this, this is not a record which the membership director keeps in his possession. This card that is referred to is something which the person who receives the book is asked to fill out and return to the membership director.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. In other words, when you joined the Communist Party, you got a book from the membership director; is that right?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. He handed it to you in person; is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Well, it has been some years ago. I think that is what happened.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is it the custom to hand it to them in person?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It may be done differently.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, how is it done?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Either handed to him in person, or it may be given, for example, to the secretary of the branch, rather than to the individual member.

The CHAIRMAN. Given to the secretary of the branch?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So that he in turn can issue the book to the new member?

Mr. BLUMBERG. To the member; that is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Then when the book is in the hands of the new member——

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. He has to tear off the first page, fill it out, and return it to the membership director?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Is he given the name of the membership director at the time the book is issued to him?

Mr. BLUMBERG. What is done is that the new member who receives the book, as a rule, returns that slip to the secretary of his branch, who in turn transmits it to the membership director.

The CHAIRMAN. Then what is the object of sending the slip back to the membership director?

Mr. BLUMBERG. To indicate that the new member has received the book. That is the only object.

The CHAIRMAN. That would only apply in a case, however, where the membership director had given the book to the secretary of the branch or someone else?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is the usual custom. That is the custom.

The CHAIRMAN. The custom is to give it to the secretary of the branch?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And only in rare instances does the membership director himself hand it to the member in person?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Dr. Blumberg, I want to know if I understand your testimony correctly, that the only function this particular card in the front of the book serves is to go back to the membership director as evidence that the member has received the book?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And this card is then destroyed?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If it does not go into any record in the files of the Communist Party of Maryland or elsewhere in the United States——

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What happens to the card in the back of the book when that is filled out? Where do you send that?

Mr. BLUMBERG. May I see it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes. You have seen such cards. Where do you send that?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I believe by the card in the back of the book you refer to what is designated there as "control card."

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is correct.

Mr. BLUMBERG. That card indicates that the member in whose book that card appears is paid up in dues for the first half year of the year in question. When such payment has taken place the control card is then filled out and the same thing is done with it as with the other cards we have talked about. It passes through the hands of the branch secretary to the membership director, and it serves simply to indicate then that that member is paid up in dues for the first half year.

The CHAIRMAN. And then the membership director immediately destroys the record of the payment?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is my impression, yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. You say impression. Do you know it to be a fact?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I know it for a fact that these cards are not kept for any length of time. They serve again, as I said before, simply to indicate that the member has paid his dues for the first half year.

The CHAIRMAN. And they are either destroyed at once upon receipt or kept for a very limited period of time?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. So that there is no record even kept of the members that have paid, no permanent record? In other words, when you joined and you paid your dues for 6 months—

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you filled out this card giving the information that you had paid, and that went to the membership director, he destroyed it?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes. The individual member who pays dues has his own receipt in the form of the dues stamp which is pasted in the book.

The CHAIRMAN. But no one in the party has any record of the payments of the dues?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Of the individual members. The total dues payments are recorded.

The CHAIRMAN. Total dues, but there is no permanent record of the individual payments of dues?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right. Each branch, through its secretary, takes care of that problem.

The CHAIRMAN. How do they take care of the problem? Do they keep records, or is it done through memory?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It is done through memory.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Why do you ask for the initiation stamp to be put on here? Why isn't that from memory, too?

Mr. BLUMBERG. When the member joins up he pays an initiation due of either 50 cents or 10 cents, depending on his status, employed or otherwise.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, is there any record, anywhere, either in your section or outside it, of the name of the holder of a membership book in conjunction with the number of the party membership book?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I know of no records, no list or series of lists of names of members or numbers, indicating that they hold such and such a membership card.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you state that there are not any such records?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I can only state what I know, and I can only state I know of no such records existing in our organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I haven't used the word list. I am referring to any kind of record, whether they be on separate cards or otherwise. Is that your understanding of the question, Dr. Blumberg?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, I show you two communications, one dated March 21, 1940, and the other March 22, 1940,

*To All Districts:*

DEAR COMRADES:

These letters are signed "Comradely yours, National Office, C. P., U. S. A."

I will read the one dated March 22, 1940:

DEAR COMRADES: If you have not already done so, please send us immediately the date of your State convention. So far we have heard from very few districts.

We have been informed that several party membership books have been legally confiscated in raids in Kansas and Missouri. The names of these books and their numbers are:

Leroy Henderson, No. 46812.

Marie Alexander, No. 46935.

Be on the look-out for such books.

Did your office receive that communication, Mr. Blumberg?

MR. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I have previously declined to answer any question with regard to material taken from our office yesterday.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Chair requires you to answer the question. You decline to do so; is that correct?

MR. BLUMBERG. Yes; on the assumption it is part of the material taken yesterday. I have no personal knowledge of this particular document.

MR. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, have you ever received communications from the national office of the Communist Party pointing out that membership books had been lost and asking you and other districts to be on the look-out for such books?

MR. BLUMBERG. During the time I have been secretary and handling such communications I have not.

THE CHAIRMAN. Your answer is you have received no such communications?

MR. BLUMBERG. Yes; during the time I have been State secretary.

MR. LYNCH. Did you ever receive any information at any other time about such lost books?

MR. BLUMBERG. I did not.

MR. LYNCH. Did you ever know of such information, whether you received it personally or not?

MR. BLUMBERG. I think from time to time such information is sent out by the national office.

MR. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, how could such information be sent out, giving both the name and the number of the book, if there were not a record of it somewhere?

MR. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I said before I decline to answer any questions with regard to material taken from our office.

THE CHAIRMAN. That is not with regard to the material——

MR. BLUMBERG. With regard to the general question, how could this communication be sent out, I don't know. I did not send the communication, nor did I receive it.

THE CHAIRMAN. But you have said that you knew of instances in which such letters had been sent out advising the different party officers that membership books had been lost, giving the serial number.

MR. BLUMBERG. Giving the serial number?

MR. MATTHEWS. And the name.

MR. BLUMBERG. Giving the serial number and the name. I have seen copies of such letters in the past.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, he asked you how that could be done, unless some record had been kept.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Well, if the national office sends out blank books to certain organizations or districts, no doubt it retains a list of the numbers. If those books are lost or otherwise misplaced, they would then be able to send out a communication concerning the books, listing the numbers. The only communications I have had personal knowledge of are communications listing book numbers, not communications listing both book numbers and names.

The CHAIRMAN. What does the letter state with relation to the information—

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here it is.

The CHAIRMAN. This letter gives the name of the person, with the book number. In the case of Leroy Henderson it is No. 46,812, and in the case of Marie Alexander, 46,935.

Have you ever seen any communication giving both the name and the number?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever seen any such communication?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of such?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. The ones you saw did not have the name and the numbers: is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right, and they referred to cases where books might be lost in transit, or something like that, or otherwise misplaced.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean the Communist Party national headquarters keeps a record of the numbers of books going to various districts?

Mr. COHN. He said he supposed so.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait a minute. He is asking the witness. The witness can answer.

Mr. COHN. The witness has already answered.

Mr. LYNCH. Would the Chair announce that the full committee is present now?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; let the record show that there is now a full quorum of the committee, and we will proceed from now on as a full committee. Members present are the chairman, Mr. Voorhis, Mr. Dempsey, and Mr. Mason.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this be marked as exhibit 11 for the record.

**(The letter referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 11, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, do you make weekly reports pertaining to membership in the Communist Party of Maryland to national headquarters?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I make weekly reports pertaining to new members, the number of new members joining the party. These reports are sent to New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To what address are they sent in New York?

Mr. BLUMBERG. To the national office of the Communist Party, 35 East Twelfth Street, New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you make those reports yourself? Do you make them out?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I check the reports or dictate them to somebody.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you the district administrative secretary of the Communist Party of Maryland?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I am not now district administrative secretary of the Communist Party of Maryland.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been in the past?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have been in the past, prior to the end of October 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. For how long did you hold that position?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I held that position from about the fall of 1937.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From the fall of 1937 until the fall of 1939?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were the district administrative secretary of Maryland?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the course of your work, you made out a weekly report to National Headquarters?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Indicating the number of new members; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. From whom did you obtain the information with respect to new members recruited?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline——

Mr. MATTHEWS. I mean the official, not the name of the person.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not asking the name. He is asking what official.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What functionary.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I would receive such reports from the membership directors of the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. From the membership directors of what?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Of the different organizations or branches.

The CHAIRMAN. Does each branch have a membership director?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Most branches it is my impression have a membership director; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many branches do you have in your district?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Approximately 40.

The CHAIRMAN. Forty branches in your district?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is the approximate figure.

The CHAIRMAN. That would be 40 membership directors?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. How many in Washington?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Do you know how many branches in Washington?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. You have 40 membership directors. Now, do you have some director who is over those directors, who has a superior position?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; it has been previously stated by me that there is a membership director for the entire district.

The CHAIRMAN. The entire district?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And the branch directors report to him?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right; they do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is Carl Brenn the District Administrative Secretary at the present time?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer any question with regard to any individual other than myself, for reasons previously stated, that these questions are immaterial——

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs the witness to answer the question, and the witness declines; is that correct?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Let me ask you this: do you know Carl Brenn?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I again decline to answer, Mr. Chairman, any question with regard to individuals other than myself.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer, although the Chair directs you to do so?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know these reports, Dr. Blumberg?

The CHAIRMAN. Indicate what reports you are asking him about now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am going to show him one in particular. It is an analysis of new members recruited during the month of January 1940, submitted by A. E. Blumberg, 53 North Eutaw Street. That refers to you, Dr. Blumberg. Did you make out that report?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I refuse to answer any questions with regard to any material removed from our offices in Baltimore yesterday, in a manner which I believe to be unlawful and unconstitutional.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you identified the document?

Mr. MATTHEWS. This will be marked "Exhibit 12."

**(The report referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 12, Blumberg.")**

The CHAIRMAN. You refuse to answer, although the Chair directs you so to do?

Mr. BLUMBERG. On the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is an analysis of new members, recruited during the week ending Saturday, March 1, 1940, submitted by A. E. Blumberg, 501-B North Eutaw Street.

Dr. Blumberg, did you submit that report to the national headquarters?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I again decline to answer for reasons previously stated, on the assumption that this is part of the material taken from the office.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; the witness declines to answer, although the Chair directs him to answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Analysis of new members recruited during 2 weeks ending Saturday, February 14, 1940, submitted by A. E. Blumberg, 501 North Eutaw Street.

Did you submit that report to the national headquarters?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I again decline to answer the question with regard to any material removed unlawfully and unconstitutionally from my office yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; the witness declines to answer, although directed to do so by the chairman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, you are familiar with the cards which are called section file cards, are you not?

Mr. BLUMBERG. In the city of Baltimore I recall that we had cards printed bearing the designation "Section file card."

The CHAIRMAN. What information was required on those cards?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I can't recall offhand, but it contained a number of things—industry, age, occupation, miscellaneous information.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to ask some questions in that connection. On this card did you require a member to state his name?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, with regard to the cards I am talking about—

The CHAIRMAN. The cards you are talking about?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have no knowledge of those cards ever having been used.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you now, on the cards you are talking about, did you require the member to state his name?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you require him to state whether he was male, female, Negro, white?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You did require that?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it require the member to state what his occupation was?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it require him to state the industry in which he was working?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Whether employed or unemployed?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ask the member to say whether or not he was a member of any trade union?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it ask whether the union was C. I. O. or A. F. of L.?

Mr. BLUMBERG. As I recall, I think the question was probably put this way: "Is it C. I. O., A. F. of L., or independent?"

The CHAIRMAN. Did it ask for the name of the union, the name of the local?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't recall whether it asked for the name of the union or local, other than the general designation—C. I. O.—

The CHAIRMAN. Did it ask whether or not the individual was a paid official in a union?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't recall whether such question appeared on the cards I have in mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it require him to state whether or not he was a war veteran? Did you ask that?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it ask whether or not he was a paid official in mass organizations?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; I think it did.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it ask whether or not he was a member of any of the organizations, naming the Workers Alliance, the I. L. D.,

the F. S. U., the American League, the Tenants Organization, the P. T. A.? Did it require the member to answer whether or not he was a member of any of those organizations?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did it ask the member whether or not any disciplinary action had ever been taken against him?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you state what the purpose of getting that information was?

Mr. BLUMBERG. As I recall, the purpose of getting periodically such information concerning the party members is to determine in round numbers the composition of the party membership at the time in question.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the only purpose?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That was the only purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, why didn't you go further and ask with reference to other organizations in the country? Why did you designate those particular organizations?

Mr. BLUMBERG. It seems to me there was no particular reason for this, because if I recall correctly there was this blanket designation, "Do you belong to this, that, or the other organization?" So that any kind of organization—

The CHAIRMAN. Why did you specify the Workers Alliance, the I. L. D., the F. S. U., American League, the Tenants Organization, the L. N. P. L., and the P. T. A.?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Well, these were offered simply as samples of the types of organizations.

The CHAIRMAN. Just as samples of the organizations?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; and in each case, and perhaps for this additional reason, unemployment organizations, or organizations concerned with peace and civil liberties, and that type of thing, the organization wanted to know how many members belong to those different organizations existing in the cities. But, of course, information was presented likewise with respect to all organizations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What would be done with these cards after they were filled out, Mr. Blumberg?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The cards I am talking about, that I recall having been printed, were not in fact used, to my knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. Were not what?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Were not used to my knowledge.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they printed in Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMBERG. They were.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the general form and content of the card made up by you or some State secretary, or somebody in Maryland?

Mr. BLUMBERG. You are referring now to the card called "section file card"?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is right.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Dated what year?

Mr. MATTHEWS. 1939 and 1940.

Mr. BLUMBERG. 1939. Such cards printed in 1939 would presumably have been printed under the direction of the membership director of the district at that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would he follow a pattern provided by national headquarters?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know of any such pattern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the printing of this card?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know of any such pattern.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen such cards from other districts in the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you don't know whether he was following such a pattern or not?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask you, Dr. Blumberg, if you can identify this as the card about which you have been speaking.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer any questions with respect to material that was unlawfully and unconstitutionally taken from the offices in Baltimore.

The CHAIRMAN. All right: the witness declines to answer, although directed to do so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This I will ask to be marked "Exhibit No. 15."

**(The card referred to was thereupon marked "Exhibit No. 15, Blumberg.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know, as a matter of fact, Dr. Blumberg, this is the standard card used throughout the United States for such purpose?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer any questions relating to materials unlawfully and unconstitutionally taken from the office in Baltimore yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. All right: he declines to answer, although directed to do so.

He is asking you with regard to throughout the United States, making it a broader question. You still decline to answer?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; but he is asking about this particular card.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask it this way. The card which he has been testifying about, or the card which happens to have practically the same information as the card you have been testifying about, is it a fact that that card is used generally throughout the United States by the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I wouldn't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Dr. Blumberg, in your work as district administrative secretary, didn't you meet on specified occasions with other district administrative secretaries from other parts of the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I did not, not with all district administrative secretaries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I did not say with all of them; I said with others.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have sometimes attended meetings where other administrative secretaries were present.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At meetings of administrative secretaries?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Not of administrative secretaries. I know of no time when meetings of administrative secretaries as such took place. What I am saying is, I have attended meetings at which other administrative secretaries, one or more, may have been present.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you attended meetings where other administrative secretaries were present and where the question of how best to keep records was discussed?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were these meetings held that you refer to?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Which meetings?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The meetings which you attended with other district administrative secretaries.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have attended a number of meetings in the city of New York, for example; conferences, conventions, that sort of thing.

The CHAIRMAN. May I ask a few questions before we pursue this at length?

Doctor, what university are you a graduate of?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I graduated from Johns Hopkins University in 1926, where I secured my A. B. degree. Do you wish further details?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; I am interested.

Mr. BLUMBERG. During the year 1926-27 I was engaged in graduate work in philosophy at Johns Hopkins University. In the year 1927-28 I held a scholarship at Yale University and secured my M. A. degree at Yale in 1928; in the year 1928-29 I held a field-service scholarship to the University of Paris in France and studied there; in the year 1929-30 I was engaged in study at the University of Vienna, from which place I secured my doctor's degree in philosophy. The final year of the academic record was the year of 1929-30, when I attended the University of Vienna in what was known as Austria, where I secured my doctor's degree in philosophy in July of 1930.

The CHAIRMAN. From what high school did you graduate?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I graduated from Baltimore City College, in the city of Baltimore. That is a high school, even though it is called a college.

The CHAIRMAN. When did you become interested in communism?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Oh, 1932.

The CHAIRMAN. 1932?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did your interest arise through your own independent study of the question, or was it a long time in forming? Did it form over a long period of time?

Mr. BLUMBERG. My interest in the labor movement and in various movements designed to improve the conditions of the people goes back a number of years. The reading of various books from time to time during college years. But I took no active part beyond holding membership in a liberal club at the university, as an undergraduate. I took no part in any activity until 1932. I believe I can say that I came into the Communist movement on the basis of my reading and study, and on the basis of my observation of conditions.

The CHAIRMAN. What organizations outside the Communist Party do you belong to?

Mr. BLUMBERG. At the present time I belong to no organization outside the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; I was a member of the American League for Peace and Democracy.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you hold any official position at any time in that league?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I worked on the Baltimore executive committee, but I held no title, as chairman, or secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a member of the Baltimore executive committee of the league?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever speak under the auspices of the league?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Well, perhaps one of those present here can very readily testify. I recall once having presided at a meeting of the American League for Peace and Democracy at which J. B. Matthews was the featured speaker.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever speak under the auspices of the league? That was my question.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I was asked to preside at that meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. Outside of that meeting, did you ever speak at any meeting?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Representing them in any particular meeting?

The CHAIRMAN. Speaking under the auspices of the league at any time.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't recall any other occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't recall any other occasion?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever belong to the International Workers Order?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No. I took a membership in that organization—I applied for a membership last month.

The CHAIRMAN. You never had—

Mr. BLUMBERG. But never previously had any connection with the organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you a member at any time of the International Labor Defense?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never been a member of any labor union, have you?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I was a member of the Baltimore Teachers' Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers, for several years, but my membership lapsed, roughly, a year and a half ago.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hold any official position in that organization?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I think the first year I was vice president of the local. My recollection is rather hazy. That was some 3, 4, or 5 years ago, but I did serve on that executive committee for a temporary period.

The CHAIRMAN. You served on the executive committee?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Of the Baltimore local.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Baltimore local. And is that the only union you were ever affiliated with?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never been a member of the Workers' Alliance?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. What about Labor's Non-Partisan League? Have you ever been affiliated with it in any respect?

Mr. BLUMBERG. That is a difficult question to answer. There was a committee established by Labor's Non-Partisan League in Baltimore. That was about 2 or 3 years ago. At that time I held no

position in the Communist Party and was elected by the Teachers Union at that time to represent them in the city committee of Labor's Non-Partisan League for Baltimore city. I have never as an individual joined Labor's Non-Partisan League.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been a member or held any position in connection with the national organization of the Communist Party?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have never.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever served in the capacity of delegate to any of their conventions?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes; I once attended a convention, but that, of course, was not a national—I attended as delegate of our district organization.

The CHAIRMAN. Since you have been a member of the Communist Party, which I believe was since 1932—

Mr. BLUMBERG. 1933.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been outside the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I have never been outside of the United States during that time. I have been in this country continuously since December of 1930, when I returned from the University of Vienna.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know Mr. Dozenberg?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I never met anyone by the name of Dozenberg.

The CHAIRMAN. You never met him?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; the only knowledge I have of the existence of such a person is from what I have seen in the newspapers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever meet Mr. Powers, who testified before the committee, I believe, yesterday?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I have met Mr. Powers on occasions. I recall one occasion, I think it was possibly last September in Chicago, at a meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. You are acquainted, are you not, with the section organizers for your district?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The term "sections organizers"?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I am acquainted with the term "section organizer."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have section organizers?

Mr. BLUMBERG. In our district we have no section organizers.

The CHAIRMAN. Who takes the place of section organizers?

Mr. BLUMBERG. We have city secretaries for the two cities.

The CHAIRMAN. A city secretary for Washington and a city secretary for Baltimore?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Baltimore; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the city secretary for Washington?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to answer any question identifying any individual.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to answer the question. You know who he is?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. I say you know who the city secretary is?

Mr. BLUMBERG. My answer is the same; I decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to say whether or not you know who he is?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to answer any question with regard to individuals other than myself.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not now asking you who the individual is; I am asking you if you know who he is. I am not asking for the name.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I am acquainted with——

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do you understand? I am asking you now do you know who the city secretary of Washington is.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Surely.

The CHAIRMAN. You do know?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I do know.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I ask you to give the committee the name of the city secretary of the city of Washington.

Mr. BLUMBERG. And I decline to answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Although the Chair directs you to do so?

Mr. BLUMBERG. For the reasons already stated; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Martin Young?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know an individual by the name of Martin Young.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know an individual by the name of Leon Platt?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't know anyone by that name?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you acquainted with the secretaries of your various branches?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You know who they are?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Most of them; yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. State to the committee the names of the secretaries of your branches, or as many names as you can.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I decline to present to this committee the names of any individuals.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to do so.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I decline to present to this committee the names of any individuals identified with the Communist movement on the grounds already stated; on the ground that such would lead to the establishment of a blacklist, and intimidation——

The CHAIRMAN. We will have to adjourn over until tomorrow morning.

(Discussion off the record.)

Mr. VOORHIS. Dr. Blumberg, I just want to ask one or two questions before we adjourn. You say you joined the Communist Party in 1933, I believe?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. And evidently you have had a very remarkable education and have a highly trained mind. Since 1932 there have been two sharp changes, have there not, in what is known as the Communist line?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Do you wish me to answer the question?

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; I would like to have your answer.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Since the spring of 1933 there have been a number of changes in what is popularly termed "the Communist Party line." By the so-called Communist Party line I understand not so much the basic objective of the Communist movement—that is, the reorganization of society along the lines of a socialist economy—but rather the

immediate aims and objectives in a given situation, which will vary from time to time, depending upon developments.

During this entire period, as I understand it, the Communist Party has always had as its basic aim the establishment of a socialist economy.

Mr. VOORHIS. I understand that.

Mr. BLUMBERG. And it has always further maintained that such a socialist economy could be established only at such time as the majority of the people in the countries involved support that aim.

Mr. VOORHIS. But my question was whether there had not been two sharp changes.

Mr. BLUMBERG. I am coming to that. Now, in carrying on our activities designed to create a better understanding of our aims, and so forth, we are concerned not simply with the question of the eventual establishment of socialism, we are likewise concerned with what we call all of the immediate needs of the mass of the people. Now, with regard to these immediate needs, these immediate demands, they have been chiefly such things as the question of peace, such things as the question of jobs, such things as the question of maintenance of civil liberties. In carrying on the struggle for such things, the character of that struggle, the specific line, as you say, will depend upon a given situation.

Mr. VOORHIS. Could I interrupt you there?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. What I want to get at is whether there have not been two sharp changes. Have there been or not?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I am coming to that. I want first to place your question—

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to get to it as quickly as we can. Have there been two such changes?

Mr. BLUMBERG. With the coming to power of Hitler in Germany, in the spring of 1933, many changes took place in the entire labor movement, Socialist, Communist, and elsewhere. These changes became formulated in the course of the years 1934 and 1935 into a general program, a program designed immediately to defeat, to stop, the advance of fascism.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; as represented primarily by Hitler in Germany; is that right?

Mr. BLUMBERG. In carrying on its struggles against fascism the Communist Party throughout that period pointed out that the advances that were then being made by the Rome-Berlin totalo axis, the so-called Fascist axis, were facilitated by the policy of the British Imperialist Government, the policy known as appeasement. So in continuing our struggle against fascism and war, major attention was given to the question of the so-called appeasement policy, which we termed a policy of collaboration.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right. The first change in the party line, then, was a change in the older tactics, which might be termed revolutionary tactics to a tactic of collaboration, with a view to stopping Hitler in his movements; is that right?

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; that is not what I said.

Mr. VOORHIS. I think it was pretty close to what you said.

Mr. BLUMBERG. No; I don't think it was even close, if you will excuse me. The Communist Party never in my opinion has changed

from so-called revolutionary tactics to so-called any other tactics. The Communist Party has always sought for the establishment of socialism. Perhaps what you are referring to is this: Prior to the spring of 1933 there were certain phrases, such as "The united front from below," and phrases of that type, which served to indicate something with regard to a relationship between the Communist and other groups in the labor movement at that time. The failure——

Mr. VOORHIS. After that had changed——

Mr. BLUMBERG. Up to that period the Communist Party, for example, did not see a possibility for a united front with the Socialist Party policy.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right. You have described what went on in the change in party lines because of Hitler and how an effort was made to oppose the growth of fascism as represented by Hitler. Later on, after the signing of the Soviet Pact, that changed things. My question is this: Wasn't it difficult for you, as well educated a man as you are, to change all of a sudden from a policy directed at opposition to Hitler over a policy of defense of that virtual alliance between the Soviet Union and Nazi Germany? Wasn't that difficult for you?

Mr. BLUMBERG. In discussing this, the difficulty is you cannot answer such involved questions in one or two sentences.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am just asking whether that was difficult or not.

Mr. BLUMBERG. What I want to say is, during the period from 1934-35 down to the fall of 1939, the Communist policy was support for a collective effort, or front, designed to stop any aggression.

Mr. VOORHIS. Designed to stop any aggression? Just a minute. You mean by that you are opposed to any aggression?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Faced with the fact of the recent——

Mr. VOORHIS. Are you opposed to any aggression?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Faced with the fact of rising Fascist aggression the Communist Party throughout the world pointed out the one way of preventing this process from resulting in a large-scale world war was through the establishment of a peace front. They worked hard to try to bring about that peace front, and when because of the activity of, in particular, the British Imperialist Government, the peace front was made impossible, a new situation confronted the world. This new situation had as its salient feature the fact that a war had broken out between England and France on the one hand and Germany on the other.

Now, unless that war—Communists, myself included, quickly came to the conclusion that that war was an imperialist war, that is, a war for profit and plunder, and not a war for democracy or civilization or any other praiseworthy motive.

Mr. VOORHIS. You recognize, do you not, that the importance of the Nazi-Tokyo negotiation has contributed to that war——

Mr. BLUMBERG. The thing that prompted that war——

Mr. COHN. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that we have gone far afield?

Mr. VOORHIS. I agree with you thoroughly.

Mr. COHN. May I say these questions are asking for the opinions of the witness, which are not in the province of the examination.

Mr. VOORHIS. It is quite difficult to get the answers. All I am trying to get at——

Mr. COHN. May I say this; these are very complicated questions that would require answers at great length. If you would like to have them off the record, the witness will be glad to discuss them with you, but this is an examination limited in scope.

Mr. VOORHIS. All right; I will ask this question. I hoped to get an answer to see how a man of your intellectual attainments could have his mind shifted so suddenly from a position here to a position over here, which it seems to me at least is quite opposite.

Let me ask you this question, Doctor, and I won't ask any more. You spoke of the preservation of civil liberties?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you stand for the preservation of civil liberties in all nations of the world, every nation of the world?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, the Communists, as I understand it, are in favor of the preservation of civil liberties.

The CHAIRMAN. Everywhere, he said, in all nations.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you think that can be reconciled with a dictatorship of any sort?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Again, Mr. Chairman, you are asking a question which cannot be answered in one sentence, two sentences, or three sentences, but which would take a lengthy conversation.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then I will pass it up.

Mr. BLUMBERG. If we wish to discuss these things informally, I will be very glad to spend hours informally discussing them.

Mr. VOORHIS. Let me ask you this: How many secret organizations, organizations where the membership is not known through the public, do you believe it is possible for a democracy to stand? The reason I ask that question is this; we have had other people with whom I think you would flatly disagree, where we have asked the question about why they did not want to reveal their membership, and so on and so forth, and they have taken the position that they had to maintain a secret organization in order to combat communism. My question is how many such secret organizations do you believe a democracy can stand?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, it seems to me the question you are asking is not so much a question of how many organizations; it is not a question certainly of members, but rather of what kind of organization we are discussing.

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean secret organizations that operate without people knowing anything about them.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Since the primary thing to ask of an organization is what their ideas, aims, and objectives are, if these aims and objectives are inconsistent with democracy, that is one problem; if they are not, that is another problem.

Mr. VOORHIS. Do you believe the aims and objectives of the Communist Party are consistent with democracy?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I believe the aims and objectives of the Communist Party are inconsistent with the maintenance of the capitalist system, but they are perfectly consistent with the maintenance of what I call democracy.

Mr. VOORHIS. Civil liberties, the right of everyone to have his opinion, the right even to criticize the Government—

Mr. BLUMBERG. Now, you are asking me to define what is meant by civil liberties. That again I am forced to say is a complicated and involved question.

Mr. VOORHIS. I ask you to include all those things in your answer.

Mr. BLUMBERG. Again I say if you wish me to discuss what are civil liberties, we can do so.

The CHAIRMAN. You are an American citizen, are you?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Your allegiance is to this country?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I am an American citizen.

The CHAIRMAN. You hold your allegiance to this country?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I don't know what you mean by allegiance.

The CHAIRMAN. In case of a war between the United States and Russia, would you support the United States?

Mr. COHN. May I say this is all objectionable?

The CHAIRMAN. You can state your objection.

Mr. COHN. I would like to state my objection. Of course, I can't state my objection with the gavel pounding.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; you may state it.

Mr. COHN. I wish to state the reason for my objection.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. COHN. The reason for my objection is this is a hypothetical question. This is not a question that seeks to elicit from the witness any matters of fact, but only matters of opinion on hypothesis, and as such I object to the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer whether or not if the United States were in a war on the side of the Allies, with Russia on the opposite side, you would support the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I have enough confidence in the American people to believe that they will not enter an imperialistic war on the side of the Allies.

The CHAIRMAN. If they should, would you support the United States in a war against Russia?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, as I have said before, I have enough confidence in the American people to believe they will refuse a second time to be drawn into an imperialistic war.

The CHAIRMAN. We may be drawn into it, and if we are, whether we ought to be or not, would you support the United States in a war against Russia?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, that of course, as I say, is a hypothetical question—

The CHAIRMAN. All right, hypothetical as you please; if it becomes a fact, where would your allegiance be, to the United States or to the Soviet Union?

Mr. COHN. I renew my objection to this question.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a simple question to answer.

Mr. COHN. It is a question based upon assumption and hypothesis.

The CHAIRMAN. If the United States were to enter war with Russia on the opposite side, would you support the United States in such a war?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, as I have said before, I am convinced that the people of the United States—

The CHAIRMAN. You won't answer the question as to whether or not you would support this country?

Mr. BLUMBERG. The people of the United States will understand the issues clearly enough to refuse a second time to be dragged into a war for profits.

The CHAIRMAN. But you decline to say whether or not in the event we did enter such a war you would support the United States or not?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I am not able to say now what I would do under a lot of hypothetical situations. What I am concerned about today, at present, is doing everything possible to prevent the American people from once more being made——

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any circumstances under which the United States would enter a war with Russia on the opposite side under which you would support the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I can conceive of no good reasons for the United States entering——

The CHAIRMAN. I say, can you conceive of any circumstances in which the United States would enter a war with Russia on the opposite side, under which you would support this country?

Mr. BLUMBERG. Mr. Chairman, I can conceive of no circumstances in this country, short of a reactionary usurpation of power, of taking power away from the people——

The CHAIRMAN. That is not answering the question.

Mr. LYNCH. I suggest you direct him to answer the simple question, and if he does not answer, to take action for contempt against him.

The CHAIRMAN. I am asking you the direct question, if the United States entered a war with Russia on the opposite side, would you support the United States?

Mr. BLUMBERG. I will have to refuse to answer such a hypothetical question, beyond the indications I have given already.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, the witness refuses to answer the question, although directed to do so.

The committee stands adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.

(Thereupon, at 5:45 p. m., the committee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chairman.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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TUESDAY, APRIL 2, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

A hearing of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities convened at 10:30 a. m. in the caucus room of the House Office Building, Washington, D. C., the Honorable Martin Dies, chairman, presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Congressman Dickstein has requested an opportunity to present to the committee certain evidence which he has gathered relative to the Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers and I believe the Silver Shirts. The committee has subpoenaed a number of the leaders of the Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers, forthwith subpoenas, and they are to be brought here in the very near future, in just a few days, for examination, but before we can hear the leaders of the Christian Front we have witnesses from Boston that we must hear tomorrow, and likewise several other witnesses that we will have to hear, but we plan to begin hearing the Christian Front leaders within the next few days.

I have explained to Congressman Dickstein the procedure of the committee which we have been compelled to adopt to ask questions and confine witnesses' testimony to answers to questions rather than to permit statements to be made by witnesses. We are compelled to follow that rule because in the past we found that permitting witnesses to make statements was rather an unwise procedure, and of course in the case of Congressman Dickstein and Members of Congress there is a different situation, and yet we fear that it would make a precedent and open the door and there will be so many who will want to make statements——

## STATEMENT OF HON. SAMUEL DICKSTEIN, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am prepared to answer any questions, if I can, but I think that you ought to give me a little latitude in view of my study of this situation, and I hope not to be long-winded, and I want to come down to the point as fast as possible.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, let us determine, Mr. Dickstein, can't we develop it through question-and-answer form with latitude?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I should like to pick up the trail of Pelley's testimony when he left this committee and following that through with certain documentary evidence that will be identified as authentic, which in my opinion he has not told this committee all of the things that the committee should know, which in my opinion after a study of many files which I have here and will turn them over to the committee, original files, so that there will be no question about the authenticity.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me just a second.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not mind being interrupted for any questions if it is important, but I thought that you ought to give me an opportunity; I just have a 3-page statement from the evidence that I have here, and not my own statement, and then I will take file by file and point out to you what the facts are and you can question me in any way that you want.

Mr. THOMAS. It is a very short statement.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that we ought to state very clearly what I am thinking about is the precedent established, that while we are allowing latitude to Members of Congress to appear, we simply cannot make that a rule of the committee. In the case of Members of Congress, you have a different situation, of course, and greater latitude will be allowed than would be in the case of an ordinary witness and yet at the same time we want to be certain that any documents introduced are either originals or proven photostatic copies or proven copies of the originals, so that you could make that plain.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am very mindful of the position of the committee. I just want to identify myself to this extent, that I have been the vice chairman of the committee known as the McCormack-Dickstein committee, which was the result of a bill passed in this House on March 20, 1934. A committee was appointed, and I had the honor to serve as vice chairman. I want to call attention to your committee, that our committee terminated its functions the end of December of 1934, or January 2, 1935, so that that committee only had about 4 months of actual investigation. I have heard the testimony of—

Mr. DEMPSEY. On that, did your committee request the House to extend the life of the committee?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes; and we had a gentleman by the name of Mr. Blanton who made the objection—

Mr. DEMPSEY. He was only one of 435 Members.

The CHAIRMAN. You made a unanimous-consent request?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes; for the reason at that time we found it difficult to examine certain Communists who refused to answer questions while Congress was not in session, and when the subpoena was issued outside of the District of Columbia and I tried to indict them for contempt—

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is not the question. Why did not the House continue that committee?

The CHAIRMAN. They did not make any effort to get it continued?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. We made an effort by unanimous consent, and that was objected to.

Mr. DEMPSEY. The Dies committee would have been objected to by unanimous consent, too.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is true.

Then I was prepared to go before the Rules Committee, as I had originally when I found that I thought for the best interests of the country that we ought to amend the law so as to put some teeth in these investigating bodies. Under the old law, if we subpoenaed a witness outside of the District of Columbia and he refused to testify, that was the reason for the delay of a year and some months before I was able to—

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get into this thing, gentlemen.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In 1934, Charles Kramer of California was a member of our committee. He was the one that we authorized to go to Asheville, N. C., and subpoena certain documents, and we have practically taken under subpoena quite a load of documents from William Dudley Pelley or the Silver Shirts or Silver Rangers or whatever they call themselves. Some of these documents I could not locate.

When Pelley had testified before this committee, I felt as I recall it, that he had not given this committee all of the surrounding facts and circumstances and the tie-ups between certain groups in this country, and from these documents I want to make this brief statement and then I will proceed very briefly to one document after another and I will have the originals.

William Dudley Pelley, spiritualist, mystic, "red-baiter," Jew-hater—that is from the record—and union buster, also America's "sawdust" Caesar, founder of the League of Liberation, Gallahad College, League for Christian Economics, the Silver Shirts, the Silver Rangers, Silver Legion, is today a self-styled American "fuhrer," Fascist No. 1, at present at the head of the Christian Party, and the Council of Safety.

It is his aim to replace the American democracy with a regime patterned after Hitler's Germany.

Beginning in 1933, in un-American fields of activity, he organized the Silver Legion and actively cooperated with the Nazi organizations in America.

In California, the McCormack-Dickstein committee revealed that Nazi leaders Schwinn, Themnitz, and Winterhaldter divided their activities on un-American activity fronts, together with Pelley. Pelley's chief lieutenant and so-called foreign adjutant and headquarters organizer, Von Lilienthal-Toal, was an employee of the German steamship lines, controlled by the German Government, and he worked with Pelley.

Pelley's so-called Council of Safety was to form a vast grapevine system covering the whole United States. The result of this grapevine system has led to the hooded and secretive organization of various bands of terrorists in the United States, throughout the country.

The instilling of the hate program and alien baiting, plus the false ballyhoo of the threat of Communism, has inspired these hooded men to carry on acts against citizens endangering their lives and endangering the very basis of democracy, namely, the Bill of Rights.

I therefore charge William Dudley Pelley with treason against the United States Government. He has attempted since 1933 to overthrow the American Government through hundreds of revolutionary and un-American tactics. His pet theory was the infiltra-

tion of the Nazi and Fascist doctrines into the organized Army quarters of the United States Government.

I charge that he was tied up with a number of Army officers in these United States which I have documentary evidence to prove. His plan was, as stated to a former congressional investigator, Richard Rollins and a Miss Waring, to take over, first, the National Guard of the 48 States. He also stated that his men were armed and that he had been recruiting former Army men of which the files I have will bear that out, many of whom are in the American Legion also.

He stated to these investigators while in the office of one Royal Scott Gulden, the head of The Order of '76, that is another outfit, that the time would come when aliens would be shot down all over the country, and by the way, for the information of this committee, since the activity of this committee, and the renewal of this investigation, the Order of '76 jumped out of the window. They stopped doing business, and they disbanded.

I charge Pelley with being the motivating force behind the Facist desire on the part of men of the Army, men like Colonel Moseley and others that I will mention from records only, to lead a revolt backed by Army men against the Government of the United States.

Pelley has succeeded in his desire to take over Army men in a marked degree. In Detroit, he worked with Captain Rubley, who was then using armories and horses to train Silver Rangers for the Silver Shirts.

In Cleveland, his organizers met with Army officers. This same procedure worked in most of the largest cities of the country. In Oklahoma, a Ranger Division was established, whose members were uniformed and armed. In California, a Silver Shirt rifle club was headed by Willard Kemp. According to Pelley, his organization numbered 3,000,000. Actually, it has been estimated as near 75,000.

He was well acquainted with the background of the organization of the Black Legion, having known Mr. Effinger in Lima, Ohio, and Dr. Sheppard, the chief organizers. His influence on hundreds of smaller Fascist American organizations is well known, chiefly among these are the Crusaders for America in Chattanooga, Tenn., Reverend Winrod's group of Kansas, the Christian Mobilizers of New York, and the Christian Front groups throughout the country.

As recently as February 5, 1940, at a meeting of the Christian Mobilizers at Austrian Hall, 245 East Eighty-second Street, New York City, national leader, Joseph McWilliams, made the statement that Pelley had been very anxious to meet with him while in hiding from the authorities.

The Mobilizer group is a Fascist organization, having 160 drilled men and a so-called private army of "storm troopers," along the same lines that Pelley had instilled in his Silver Legion. Besides Irish Republican sympathizers in this movement of McWilliams there were several members of the Silver Shirts and the German-American Bund. The mention of Pelley's testifying before the Dies Committee was greeted with great applause by McWilliams' followers.

William Bishop, recently arrested by the Department of Justice and indicted for treason against the Government with 16 others, was well known to Pelley. This William Bishop was a former member of the Order of '76, and the Silver Shirts. It was in such men as

these that William Dudley Pelley instilled the theory of armed revolution. No man in recent years has created so much hate and false propaganda about the existing Government as William Dudley Pelley.

Now, Mr. Chairman, as I stated a moment ago, when Mr. Pelley had given testimony before this committee I felt it was my duty to look for some files. I could not find them at that time and I would have brought them to this committee if I had, and after maneuvering around I have picked up about 10 or more original files that I found in the Old House Office Building in the committee room where we kept our storage of Pelley stuff. I am——

Mr. THOMAS. May I interrupt right there, Mr. Dickstein? Have you got these files that you mentioned on the floor of the House a short time ago, that you had very important documents; did you bring those along?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. These are the ones?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes; and then I could not find all of them and I said that I promised you——

Mr. THOMAS. You could not find all that you mentioned?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I knew that I had them, but I found most of them.

Now, I will identify this as exhibit 3-A, and I am not going to read them. I am just going to give you extracts and suggest in my own way who I think ought to be subpoenaed, but I think it is up to the committee to do what it pleases.

The CHAIRMAN. Tell us what the document is, if it an original or copy.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. This is a document taken from the files of Mr. Pelley. This is the original paper that I am going to submit, taken from the files of Mr. Pelley by Mr. Kramer under a Government subpoena. I am just giving you what the tie-up is.

The CHAIRMAN. Were all of the files that you have there taken from Mr. Pelley's files by Mr. Kramer?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. What year was that?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That was, I think, late in 1934.

Mr. THOMAS. For the sake of the record in proving it up, would you mind digressing a moment while we let Mr. Kramer identify the file? Would that be satisfactory?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I have no objection at all. I asked Mr. Kramer to come in here and he agreed.

The CHAIRMAN. It will take only a minute.

#### STATEMENT OF HON. CHARLES KRAMER, FORMER MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA

The CHAIRMAN. Will you examine the files, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, there were so many files the committee at that time took. I personally did not handle the files. We had four or five investigators who actually did the work, but the files—or rather I might say, as I heard Mr. Pelley say——

Mr. DEMPSEY. I think that we ought to swear Mr. Kramer, and then have him state if he did seize these files and if these are the original files seized.

Mr. KRAMER. I just want to preface my remarks with that.

(Mr. Kramer was thereupon sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Now, will you please, Mr. Dickstein, show him the files and let him identify the ones that he can, giving the date and some descriptive matter so that the record will show that he identified them?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I will also identify a certain gun that I found in the bag when the papers came over, a certain gun was found from Mr. Pelley's office.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get them one by one.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I want him to look at it and he can make a full statement on all of them.

Mr. Chairman, may I state for the record that the Hon. Charles Kramer has looked at exhibits A and B.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Let me suggest if the gentleman from California wants to play with that gun he ought to go out on the lot somewhere.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, M, N, O, P, exhibit Q and exhibit S.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask Mr. Kramer a question.

Mr. Kramer, you have examined the exhibits that Mr. Dickstein has identified, have you not?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those documents contained in those exhibits the documents that you took or under your direction were taken from the files of William Dudley Pelley?

Mr. KRAMER. Those and hundreds of more like that. I believe the old boxes are back in the storeroom, and I believe that I have written the committee about them. They are still over there marked "Silver Shirts," a great many of them that were taken from the files and records at Los Angeles and examined there.

The CHAIRMAN. These particular records?

Mr. KRAMER. They are merely a part of those records.

The CHAIRMAN. You know that they are part of the records?

Mr. KRAMER. Those are part of the original records.

The CHAIRMAN. And taken from Asheville, at Asheville?

Mr. KRAMER. They were taken from the headquarters, the main headquarters of the Silver Shirts in Asheville, N. C., and I do not recall the street but it is quite a ways out, about halfway out to that end.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately what date, Mr. Kramer?

Mr. KRAMER. I would say, it seems to me some time in November.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. About the end of September or the beginning of October of 1934.

Mr. KRAMER. The files were all taken after an examination of a number of witnesses at Asheville over a period of several days, 4 or 5 days, and then another investigation in which witnesses testified, they were all executive and were not public hearings, and the men were instructed under my direction to take all of the files which they did and we took them over to the juvenile courtroom, and they were placed in there and from that the men went through it and there were

four or five men down there under the direction of the committee, and we took a great many of these files which are still in the committee's possession, and likewise those that we found at Los Angeles, and the records of the Los Angeles examination, together with that that was later conducted in the District of Columbia here. I believe that you have copies of those hearings, and if you will read that you will get a memorandum of the exhibits that were then introduced, which ought to aid this committee considerably with respect to Pelley.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I think that is sufficient for the identification of the records.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I found this in your stuff that came in, this gun.

Mr. KRAMER. I don't know of my own knowledge whether this particular apparatus was in his records or not.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking of a gun that is in your hand?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; but he did have a great deal of ammunition and some machine guns and rifles which had been taken from the armory, Marine armory at San Diego. Those were recovered by the Army, or the Navy, and he had set up there back in the hills of San Diego what he called a storm-troop division, and when he made the statement in here the other day that that was not a military organization he deliberately lied to this committee, because the records of the committee of which I served then as chairman of the subcommittee has found definite proof that he did have such a military organization.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Just a second. Just a minute. You say that there were seized machine guns and ammunition?

Mr. KRAMER. I don't recall—

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is your statement.

Mr. KRAMER. I said some rifles.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Those were taken from some Army post?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes, in San Diego.

Mr. DEMPSEY. So that they were stolen?

Mr. KRAMER. I think that they were. These boys brought them out under a bribe that he was giving them at various times.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was that called to the attention of the Department of Justice?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; all of our findings were brought to the attention of the Department of Justice.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What was done about it?

Mr. KRAMER. And the Department of War, and the Navy, and I do not recall. Perhaps Mr. Dickstein and Mr. McCormack can probably tell you.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I cannot understand all of this Government material being taken and nothing done about it.

Mr. KRAMER. There were a lot of things brought to the attention of the State Department and the Department of Justice, and I do not recall what was done.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. All of these documents are all new. We hadn't had a chance—

Mr. DEMPSEY. I am not talking about that.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What effort was made to prosecute for the theft of these munitions?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I want to say this to my colleague.

Mr. THOMAS. Before Mr. Dickstein goes on, you swore Mr. Kramer in, and I think that the chairman ought to swear Mr. Dickstein in, too.

(Mr. Dickstein was sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What effort was made to prosecute for the theft of these munitions?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not know.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You were a member of the committee.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I was, but I had my hands full in New York. We were just stepping into a lot of dynamite wherever we moved, and we did not have time to move. We had only been in operation for 4 or 5 months although I had been making investigations about 2 years before.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Was that thing called to the War Department's attention or the Navy Department's attention, or the Department of Justice?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I honestly cannot say. I cannot recall just what was done. It is impossible.

Mr. VOORHIS. I want to ask Mr. Kramer, did your committee's agents find this gun and ammunition——

Mr. KRAMER. If you will read——

Mr. VOORHIS. In that place?

Mr. KRAMER. If you will read the hearings——

Mr. DEMPSEY. We do not want to go over that. We want your knowledge of it.

Mr. KRAMER. I do not remember the exact details any more.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it not a fact that they found the guns but never could prove that the guns belonged to Pelley, and was that not that it, while the committee believed that they belonged to Pelley?

Mr. KRAMER. The information that the committee had, as I recall it, just refreshing my recollection of what I recall, there were two witnesses that had been in the Pelley storm-troop division of which I think that there were some two or three hundred men.

The CHAIRMAN. At San Diego?

Mr. KRAMER. Yes; and they had identification cards, several of which are a part of the record of this committee, and they were offered in evidence. Those men testified, as I recall it, in Los Angeles, that when they disbanded one of them was very severely injured in the Silver Shirts organization discovering that he was an investigator rather than one of their own organization, and that is how the committee found out the connection between Pelley and the storm-troop division.

Mr. DEMPSEY. We understand all about that, but the thing I cannot understand is this, how a congressional committee would locate a lot of Government munitions that had been stolen, apparently, from barracks, and not do anything about it?

Mr. KRAMER. We did do this about it, Mr. Dempsey. It was brought to the attention of my chairman. I took instructions, and whatever recoveries, or what information I had was always forwarded back to Mr. McCormack.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It seemed to me you had a perfect case.

Mr. KRAMER. All of that information was brought to his attention because I know we discussed it in executive session and to the

respective departments, and what they did is something that I did not go into further. We gave them the information.

The CHAIRMAN. You felt that you had made out a good case on the question?

Mr. KRAMER. Exactly so; and it was for the departments to take whatever action they saw fit, and I did not follow it through because at that time Congress was not in session, and I charged no money for expenses. Our funds were limited.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It is my understanding that a Member of Congress is paid by the Congress, in session or not.

Mr. KRAMER. All of the investigation and travel and everything like that was charged against the committee, and I did not think it was necessary for me to come back here. I simply sent all of the records and files and whatever information I had back to the committee, to Mr. McCormack.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That answers my question.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask Mr. Kramer a couple of questions. Mr. Kramer, when you located these guns and ammunitions out there, where did you locate them?

Mr. KRAMER. I personally did not locate them. It was our investigators that got them and brought the information into the committee hearing.

Mr. THOMAS. Where did he locate them?

Mr. KRAMER. In San Diego, back in the hills.

Mr. THOMAS. Who located them back in the hills?

Mr. KRAMER. I just do not recall the names of the hills, but it is mentioned.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is the name of the investigator?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not recall who he is, but if you will look into the hearings that were had in Los Angeles you will get a lot of information verbatim, and I have not read it in 4 years.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you not recall the name of the investigator, yourself?

Mr. KRAMER. What was that fellow's name? That was one of the intelligence men.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He was not a New York man; he was a western fellow.

Mr. THOMAS. Was that gun found by him?

Mr. KRAMER. It is possible that this gun was in his Asheville headquarters, because they did have—

Mr. THOMAS. Where has this gun been all of this time?

Mr. KRAMER. I do not know.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I found it in the storeroom, in looking for these documents, not in the clerk's office; but we had some more stuff on the fifth floor of the Old Building, where we found the gun, and I found some of this correspondence and these files and otherwise I would have brought them in when Pelley was here, and I did not personally examine Pelley.

Mr. THOMAS. Are you going to refer to this gun later?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I will refer to a witness who will identify a similar and identical gun in his possession while he visited her apartment.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether that is the gun, yourself?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I could not say that. I am merely telling the com-

mittee that this was found among the files of documents and papers and other stuff of the Silver Shirt Legion brought in from Asheville, N. C., and I have not gone there. I was one of these gentlemen that stayed right in New York, and I did not go to California or any other place.

The CHAIRMAN. You have made that clear. Now let us proceed.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Thank you

I have an original document consisting of a letter dated October 20, 1933, to Robert C. Summerville, who was the chief officer of the Silver Legion organization, at William Dudley Pelley's general headquarters staff, located in Asheville, N. C. This letter was sent to Robert C. Summerville from Capt. S. J. Rubley, a captain of the Medical Corps of the National Guard attached to the third squadron of the One Hundred and Sixth Cavalry of the State of Michigan. His commanding officer is Col. Harold Weber. Captain Rubley is recorded as on active duty with the Michigan State Guard, subject to periodic drills under Federal jurisdiction, paid for by Federal money, for which he receives also Federal pay.

His address in the Congressional Medical Directory records him with an address, 14000 Strathmore Avenue, Detroit, Mich. Captain Rubley has been recruiting the Ku Klux Klan for several years prior to his correspondence with Robert Summerville, who was Pelley's chief lieutenant at the headquarters at Asheville, N. C.

In his communication to Mr. Summerville, Captain Rubley says—and quoting very briefly:

The Klan is growing with unbelievable rapidity. Inside of a month I predict a membership of 50,000 and I am working very closely with them. I wish it was so that you could send an organizer here to work full time. My time is so taken up that I do not have time to get more than four hours sleep a night. Have had to give up a class in equitation, but hope to have fifty Klansmen mounted in two weeks time. They are preparing seriously to defend their homes and their country. I just talked with Dr. Webber and we have decided to leave our families as far from Detroit as we can. I may be exceptionally blood-thirsty, but I feel that the late winter snows will be tinged scarlet in the streets of Detroit. Conditions here are bad. \* \* \* The people are losing faith in a decadent and corrupt administration that has betrayed them, and mortgaged themselves to the Jews. \* \* \* If an organizer might be sent here, there is no doubt but what he could make rapid headway and I will give of my time and service as I can. \* \* \* I pledge myself to your cause and will keep you informed of all that is going on in this City. But just at present I am severely handicapped for both time and money. I am forced to delay my visit to headquarters at this time, but you can depend on me as a Silver Shirt in Detroit.

These documents were signed by Capt. S. J. Rubley with his own signature. He is a captain in the United States Reserve Army and he is still a member of the Reserve Army, and he is still actively engaged in these movements.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me have that exhibit, please.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Now, here is the original document.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is the date of that, Mr. Dickstein?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. October 20, 1933. Now, this is the original signature of Captain Rubley.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that Captain Rubley is now a Reserve officer?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. To my best information and belief, and he was at that time. That is the original letter.

The CHAIRMAN. I want the clerk to make a note and issue a subpoena for this captain right away. You have his address?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Now, Dr. Webber is the head of the Klan in Detroit, Mich.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Before you leave this—it was brought to the attention of the War Department that this Captain Rubley—

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I will come to that in a minute.

Mr. DEMPSEY. There is no letter signed by Webber. Do I understand that that letter merely mentions Webber's name, is that the substance of it?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. It mentions Webber's name but the original letter that I have in my possession is signed in ink and in typewriting by Captain Rubley.

Mr. THOMAS. Is that the one that you just read?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes; but I did not read it all. I have just given you a few extracts. It goes into a lot of material that I think that this committee ought to have, and if there is no objection I would like to have my man read the other tie-up with these few more letters from Rubley, in the file.

The typewritten summary is mine, and the original letter—

Mr. VOORHIS. I would like to know where Dr. Webber comes in?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He is the head of the Ku Klux Klan in Detroit, and Webber and Rubley, who is an Army officer, in the Army Reserve, being paid by Federal money.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is there any evidence about Dr. Webber?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I will give you the whole tie-up. There are two Webbers. One is in the National Guard, a superior of Rubley, and he also was tied up with this movement to train Silver Shirts in the Army Reserve Corps where Rubley was the chief in there, in horsemanship. They have used at one time 50 horses, Government horses, to train these Silver Shirts.

Mr. DEMPSEY. I would still like to know whether the Army's attention was called to this, and what did they do about it?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I asked for his removal.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What did they do?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I have so far—I could not get any answer yet, and it is 4 years.

Mr. THOMAS. How did you ask the Army, by correspondence?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I think that I have a telegram here that I sent. I will turn it over to the committee.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Did you turn over to them a copy of these letters?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I have sent them copies of these letters, and I understand that was to be court-martialed, and there was a trial, but I could not find out what the court martial was, and from my best information and belief, Captain Rubley is still on the pay roll of the United States Government in connection with this movement.

Mr. THOMAS. In connection with this particular matter, I think it is important that this committee get the copy of the telegram or the copy of the letter that Mr. Dickstein sent to the War Department.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Let me complete the Rubley letters.

Mr. THOMAS. Will you turn that over?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes; I will turn it over. I could not find all of the files, but if you want it at this point—

MR. KRAMER. I think if you go to the files that are kept over in my storeroom—when we moved from the other office, on the fifth floor, we had to take those files out of there, and I think that you will find a great deal—a mass of stuff over there, files of the Silver Shirts, and of the bund, or——

THE CHAIRMAN. Was this put in the record before your committee, this evidence?

MR. DICKSTEIN. No; we could not get to it, we were just——

THE CHAIRMAN. You could have handed it to the stenographer and got it incorporated in the record.

MR. DICKSTEIN. I doubt, Mr. Chairman, whether this stuff ever reached us, we could not get to it. We were flooded with these matters. The moment the country was advised that an investigation on un-American activities was to be held we were piled up with stuff that we could not keep up with, conditions were so bad.

Now, here is a letter—in order to save time, here is a wire to the War Department by direction of myself. I directed the clerk of the committee whose name was Randolph, who sent a letter, I believe, to the War Department.

THE CHAIRMAN. This is a photostatic copy of a file from F. P. Randolph. "Hon. Samuel Dickstein,"—do you want to read this? "Adjutant General"——

MR. DICKSTEIN. I wanted to make sure that Rubley was in the service of the United States Government. I was not going to make any charges without first knowing that.

THE CHAIRMAN. I was trying to get the date. May 29, 1937, The Adjutant General's statement.

Their records show a Captain Samuel Jether Rubley as a captain Medical Corps, National Guard, of the United States. National Guard Bureau of War Department states their records show Samuel Jether Rubley as a captain of Medical Corps National Guard of United States attached to Third Squadron, 106th Cavalry of Michigan, State National Guard, with his official address recorded as Monroe, Michigan, and his commanding officer as Col. Harold Weber. National Guard Bureau says he is recorded as on active duty with the Michigan State Guard, subject to periodical drills under Federal jurisdiction, for which he receives Federal pay. Library of Congress reports the Medical Directory on record there records him as a physician with an address, 14000 Strathmore Avenue, Detroit, Michigan, and the current telephone directory for Detroit, a Dr. S. J. Rubley at 491 West Hancock Street, Detroit.

The date of this telegram is May of 1936.

MR. DICKSTEIN. I think the typewritten copy will give you a clearer date.

THE CHAIRMAN. I don't have a typewritten copy.

MR. DICKSTEIN. I followed that through further than that.

MR. DEMPSEY. Why did the committee permit 2 years to elapse?

MR. DICKSTEIN. There are some more files of correspondence that I am going to locate, where I asked for his removal or dismissal, and I have asked, and I understood that there was to be a court martial, and I have some more correspondence that I will locate and be glad to turn over to the committee. Now, whether they smothered it or not I do not know, but I think that it is a serious situation when you have Army officers collaborating with Pelleys and Summervilles and taking them over to the United States Government property and training them in horsemanship and shooting.

MR. DEMPSEY. Let us confine ourselves to the documents.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. If you do not mind, I shall let my young man read the others.

(The following document was read for Mr. Dickstein:)

Exhibit C, an original letter dated October 19, 1933 from Captain Rubley of Detroit, Michigan to Silver Legion Headquarters addressed to Mr. Summerville (Pelley's headquarters organizer) I quote from the contents of this document:

"The idea of the Silver Rangers is a CAPITAL idea. I wish my house was in order that I might join them at once, but it is not, and by the same token I feel that I am in a field that needs me more than the Southwest \* \* \* Politics are putrid. Communism is wide-spread and arrogant, and the Silver Shirts are conspicuous by their absence \* \* \* I have contacted the leader of the Klan, Mr. Webber, and he is doing a real work. The lecture he gave Sat. night was taken almost entirely from Liberation and from private correspondence I have received from Lawrence Brown. Sunday afternoon the Klan are to hold a closed meeting and start a drive for 10,000 membership. There is no doubt but what they will succeed. Out of that number there are to be picked a number, and they are to be turned over to me for military drill and training, and from them, I'll pick about fifty and drill them during the winter in equitation. \* \* \* My pet dream since reading the last Liberation is to organize a S. S. Ranger Troop or a squadron, and supplement the mounted police during the coming turmoil. \* \* \* A letter this morning from Lt. Col. Hadley of the Paul Reveres at 120 S. LaSalle Street, Chicago, says that they have no chapter here. The Klan seems to be the shock troops at present. But feel that they can be depended upon to hold the line until the Silver Shirts and the Paul Reveres get mobilized. \* \* \* Please tell me what you think of the Detroit Cav. idea and give all the suggestions you can concerning it. Because we are in dire need of such an outfit."

This document is signed by Capt. Samuel J. Rubley and there is another one on the back.

Exhibit D is a copy of the communication dated October 19, 1933, from Asheville, N. C., to Captain Rubley, of Detroit:

"I heartily approve of what you say with regard to the effectiveness of the Klan organization and the Paul Revere organization paralleling Silver Shirt work. It is the ultimate principals for which we are working and it is a testimony of the breadth and depth of the true knowledge motivating this campaign, that we can see this clearly.

"However, I would make it mighty hot for the leader of the Klan in Detroit if he is using Liberation material and not giving credit where credit belongs! Emphatically, Captain Rubley, there is no organization that is as much on the firing line as we are, or working as intensely with espionage officers who are daily digging up information for use at possible sacrifice of their own lives. And when the people actually get aroused there will be only one leadership that may serve to keep the minds of the people into clear channels of constructive action."

Mr. THOMAS. Who is that signed by?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I will tell you that in a minute, sir. This is a copy of a communication that is addressed to Rubley, and it is not signed. It is merely prefaced by Robert C. Summerville.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is this Summerville?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He was the first lieutenant in charge of Pelley's headquarters.

Mr. KRAMER. He was the man?

Mr. DEMPSEY. Is that signed?

Mr. THOMAS. I am trying to find out who this Mr. Summerville is.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He is the chief in charge of the Silver Legion.

Mr. THOMAS. I have asked Mr. Dickstein who Mr. Summerville is.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Summerville was in full and complete charge of the Silver Shirts, Silver Legion, of Mr. Pelley, and Mr. Pelley's right-hand man.

Mr. THOMAS. Let us have one person talking at a time.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. His office was the headquarters of Asheville, N. C.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether Mr. Summerville has been Mr. Pelley's first lieutenant up to recently?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Up to as recently as probably 2 years ago.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what he is doing now?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I do not; and I never met the man.

Mr. KRAMER. I personally did.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. You had the honor.

Mr. KRAMER. I think that we ought to look into this man Summerville. He makes quite some statements there, and I think that we ought to subpoena him along with these others.

Mr. KRAMER. May I interject a little information for Mr. Dickstein? You want to find out who he was. He had several down there, and I think if you can get the hearings that were had at Asheville, which were in print, you will get the names of those men, and there was one particular man down there that we brought later up to the District. His name was Paul von Lilienfeld Toal. He was adjutant general in the organization.

I personally met these men, and they were up here and testified on these things, but if you check that hearing you will get all of that information and their addresses.

(The following was read for Mr. Dickstein:)

Exhibit E: This is an original document dated March 10, 1934, with Pelley's mimeographed signature in the upper right-hand corner, with "Silver Shirts of America" printed at the heading. This communication is written from the Washington headquarters of the Silver Shirts, at 304 Woodward Building. It is addressed to Robert C. Summerville, Pelley's headquarters organizer, and signed by Paul A. Toal, another lieutenant in the pay of Pelley, serving in his Asheville, North Carolina, headquarters. I quote from its contents:

"Thank you for your intention to send to Gen. Innadze and Mr. Strogoff our LIBERATION \* \* \* Up till now we did not get them regularly, save a few Russian papers from New York and the Deutsche Zeitung from New York. What I am driving at is to establish an interchange of literature with as many as possible foreign publications written in our spirit. I even read a few words Spanish and could get an idea about Fascism in Argentine from their papers, if necessary."

Mr. DICKSTEIN. This is an original letter, as you will notice by the printing on it. I want to turn that over.

Mr. THOMAS. Who is that signed by?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. That is signed by Paul A. Toal, in the Washington office.

(The following was read for Mr. Dickstein:)

Exhibit G: Original letter of December 28th, 1933, from Liberation News Bureau, Pelley's Silver Shirt Headquarters in the Woodward Building, Washington, D. C., to Robert Summerville in Asheville, North Carolina, signed by Paul A. Toal and I quote: However the heading of this document has the wording "Confidential Information." And I quote:

"True, we must 'grow forward,' and this present life is a very important one, maybe it will be the biggest job we ever accomplished under the leadership of the White King. Nevertheless, it helps me a lot to know that I have worked before and successfully under his leadership, which explains the love and loyalty I feel for him at present, and as well for his close associates, like you, dear Bob.

"Now to go back to the present day's business, I am sending you herewith application of my future German Organizer for the Eastern District, Mr. A. Seydel. \* \* \* He is very devoted to our cause. Born in the U. S., he was in Germany for a long time, which combination makes him ideally fit to be an organizer for the S. S."

This is the original signed by Paul A. Toal.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know, Mr. Dickstein, if these letters were ever made available to the Department of Justice when they were investigating the Silver Shirts?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I could not say. All I can say is that these documents from the time that they were brought in by Mr. Kramer up to the time that I am going over them, they were never looked at, I mean—

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't the Department of Justice investigating them at the same time the committee was, or was that later?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. It was later, I think.

Here is a very good exhibit.

(The following was read for Mr. Dickstein:)

Original letter dated October 31, 1933, from Captain Rubley in Detroit, signed by him to the general headquarters of the Silver Legion in Asheville, North Carolina. I quote:

"Yesterday, I saw seven distinct riots, \* \* \* several injuries, and scores of burned blue-prints, worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. The attackers work under the guise of strikers, but the head of the striking organization deny any part in the demonstration. \* \* \* One readily senses a Communistic program. Police were lured far from the scene of battle.

"Papers report the town quiet today, but fresh rioting may break out any time.

"Training of the Volunteer Klan Cavalry troop continues without any interruption \* \* \*. Ninety per cent of the people of America are in a frame of mind for a dictator \* \* \*. Not one of the many officers I have talked with seem to be able to think in terms of a local revolution. The older they are in the service the dumber they get \* \* \*. Because of the lack of the Silver Shirt organization here I am working with the Klan. As soon as we can get a troop or squadron of 'Rangers' here I'll transfer my energies to them. Am reserving one night a week for the 119 Ambulance Corps, 32nd Division. The other nights go to whoever wants to learn to ride and handle a saber."

Mr. DEMPSEY. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. This is dated October 31, 1933, from Captain Rubley and signed by his signature.

(The following was read for Mr. Dickstein:)

Original letter dated September 30, 1933, written and signed by Captain Rubley of Detroit, Mich., addressed to General Headquarters of the Silver Shirts, in Asheville, North Carolina:

"I am in close contact with a large number of Army officers here and am cultivating their friendship all I can \* \* \*. I wish to be kept 'Incognito' for the present until I get my bearings. I also find that the K. K. K. is organized and active here \* \* \*. They use a very effective method. "P" elm clubs and hard knuckles \* \* \*. The members are wearing Blue shirts."

This is signed by Captain Rubley.

Exhibit "M", a copy of a letter from Major Luther I. Powell, Chief of Staff of Pelley's Silver Legion in Asheville, North Carolina. The letter is dated November 1st, 1933, to Captain Rubley in Detroit. I quote:

"Captain, the writer of this letter was one of the charter members of the Ku-Klux Klan in Atlanta, Georgia. I had charge of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Alaska and Hawaii in the mobilization and recruiting of the Ku-Klux Klan in its early period. Therefore, I know something of the organization, and I am still a Klansman at heart even though I am not affiliated with the organization and have not been for the past seven years \* \* \*. However, we want you to know, and want you to tell all your Klansmen fellows that we are in this great economic struggle together and we want a friendly feeling to exist between these two great organizations. We have many outstanding Klansmen and ex-Klansmen within our ranks and many more are joining our ranks daily, and I presume vice versa."

This is a document signed by Powell, a copy of the original.

This is Exhibit N, a photostatic copy of a document dated April 4, 1934, from Robert C. Summerville, of the General Headquarters staff in Asheville, N. C., to Mr. Royal Scott Gulden, Head of the Order of Seventy-Six, 139 West 57th Street, New York City. I quote:

"The Chief has given us a complete understanding regarding yourself, and in response to my question as to whom to communicate with in New York City for information of important consequence, I was referred to you \* \* \* There is also another important favor which you can do us, in the onslaught upon the Jews which we are planning in coming publications, and that is to secure the names and addresses of the various publishers of Jewish magazines and newspapers in the vicinity of New York City. We have prepared a Clipping Bureau here at GHQ, to cull out the "live" material in which the Jews reveal their hand, and which, of course, constitutes the most deadly sort of publicity \* \* \*

This is signed by Summerville, to Royal Scott Gulden.

Mr. THOMAS. Could I ask a question about the fellow Gulden? What was his position up there?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He was the liaison man for Pelley's outfit in New York.

Mr. THOMAS. Was he a member of the Silver Shirts?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes; he was a member of the Silver Shirts, and he had his own organization, of the Order of Seventy Six.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know what his business was in New York?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He used to be in the real-estate business, and still is.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know where he is now?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. In New York City?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a photostatic copy. How did you get it?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. From the possession of the files of the Silver Legion.

The CHAIRMAN. Why would they keep a photostatic copy of a letter in their file?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. We are just giving you what we found.

The CHAIRMAN. This might have been made—the photostatic copy—by the committee?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. It may have been, and we may have lost it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make photostats, Mr. Kramer? This is a photostatic copy of a letter. Did not the committee make numerous photostatic copies?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. We made a number of photostatic copies.

Mr. KRAMER. There were a great many photostatic copies made of originals, made by the committee.

(The following was read for Mr Dickstein:)

Photostatic copy of a document signed by Captain Rubley, dated October 10, 1933, addressed to General Headquarters. I quote:

"\* \* \* What can you tell me about the role the Army and Navy will play in the next government under Pres. Baruch, or rather dictator Baruch. I feel that this next congress (?) will be the last one. What will be our next step as army officers. Will the army stay with the dictator or with the people. These are hot questions and I doubt if you will be able to answer them. But our time is short. I feel that some one should begin to think in terms of the change that is coming and not be caught napping. \* \* \* I've studied the Russian Revolution and feel that I have an understanding of what we are in for and am anything but elated this morning. Its like watching an approaching cyclone wondering what \* \* \*

Mr. THOMAS. What is the date of that letter?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. October 10, 1933. It is a photostatic copy of the original, signed by Mr. Rubley.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether your committee turned that letter over, over to the Department of Justice?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I could not say.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you know whether the matter was referred to the Department of Justice?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. It might have been. I am still hoping that this committee will give me a further opportunity when I find other material to turn over to this committee for further study.

Mr. THOMAS. At that time you had your own committee, and I want to know whether you turned it over to the Department of Justice?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Most likely we have. I could not swear that I did. I personally did not.

The CHAIRMAN. We are trying to account for the absence of the original letter, and it must have been. If the committee got the original, they did one of two things, either returned the original to Pelley or they sent the original to the Department of Justice. There was some reason for making a photostatic copy now, and I was trying to inquire if you can recall at this late date what would be the reason for making a photostatic copy?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. My best judgment, Mr. Chairman, is that we turned the original over to the Department of Justice. That would be my best judgment.

Now, just as I said a moment ago, Mr. Chairman, I should like to have the opportunity to again some day, at a time convenient to the committee, when I pick up, which I hope to find, a number of more exhibits, tying up the Silver Legion with at least 30 or 40 State Army officers, and others who have been working together on this one mass mobilization. I am looking for it every day.

Now, I want to make another statement. There appears to be in the Liberty, and will be in the Liberty that has not come out yet, an article by one Paffrath, Johan H. Paffrath, in which he writes an article that Hitler agents in the United States, and he mentions my name at least 15 times, the article does, in which it is claimed that he was in my employ and that he was a real honest to goodness spy for the Hitler government, and he was told and directed from this article to find a way how he could get into my employ so that he could get my secrets against the Nazi government of how I get all of this information, and so forth and so on.

He admits that he just became a citizen about 3 or 4 years ago and he admits that he was a Gestapo or spy for the German Government at the time when he became a citizen.

He also states that he framed the false kidnaping in New York and I know something about the case, the papers had it, that he allowed himself to be kidnaped with the idea that by Nazi troopers to take him back to Germany I would come to his defense because he was against the German Government, and he said he was not.

I want to say to you, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen of the committee, that this man was never in my employ. As a matter of fact, I have only met the man once in my office, or twice, and he found a way to steal some blank checks in the office, forged them, and he was

in an insane asylum and now he says that he did that all out of sympathy for the Gestapo so that he could go into my office and get information and that certain men have vanished and disappeared and he knows where they were, and the point that I want to make is that he admits that he was a Gestapo agent, a secret agent for the Hitler Government.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he admit that in that article, that he still is?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I don't know whether he still is but he has changed his heart or his mind, he does not want to lose his citizenship papers.

The CHAIRMAN. They all lose their hearts.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He has been in an insane asylum?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He got himself committed to an insane asylum.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think he has been totally cured?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He said he was not crazy. He just played an act on our institutions, and he fooled the courts by this kidnaping business to find a way how to get into my employ and he never was in my employ, and the article is false and untrue, and I do not know the man from Adam except as I say I met him once or twice, and I submit that he ought to be subpoenaed before this committee.

We will give you his residence and he says that he has a list of 50 or more agents in this country who are representing Hitler as spies in this country and he had them all, that he had to report to certain superior officers in Germany, and that he made certain reports on everybody, including the committees of this Congress.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Are you contending that what he has done is criminal?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Absolutely.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And he is confessing it by this statement?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He is confessing it.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Do you not think that the place to take that is to the Department of Justice?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Well, the point is this, Mr. Dempsey, that so far as this committee, I know what to do so far as Liberty is concerned, and I know what to do so far as the criminal forgery is concerned, but he admits here for the attention of this committee, that he was a secret Gestapo agent for the German Government in this country and he mentions certain names by A, B, C, who were working with him to undermine this Government, and I say to this committee that he ought to be subpoenaed, and the names of the secret police or Gestapo in this country, so far as this committee is concerned——

Mr. DEMPSEY. I agree with that, but the criminal thing——

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I will take care of that myself, in my own way.

Now, may I recess personally, and just put Miss Waring on for a few brief questions?

I will leave this copy of Liberty here, because this is an advance copy. You will find it very interesting.

## STATEMENT OF MISS DOROTHY WARING, OF NEW YORK CITY

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I would like to present Miss Waring to the committee, and I do not know whether you want to proceed, or whether I should ask her some questions.

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name, please?

Miss WARING. Dorothy Waring.

The CHAIRMAN. And where do you live?

Miss WARING. I live in New York City.

The CHAIRMAN. And how long have you lived in New York City?

Miss WARING. Most of my life.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dickstein, will you question her?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Do you know Mr. Pelley?

Miss WARING. I do.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Personally?

Miss WARING. I do.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. When did you meet Mr. Pelley?

Miss WARING. The first time that I met Mr. Pelley was in the office of Royal Scott Gulden, head of the Order of '76, and his offices at that time were at 139 East Fifty-seventh Street, and he was working in close cooperation with Mr. Gulden, and likewise with Colonel Emerson, who was then head of the Friends of Germany, and likewise with the Friends of New Germany, which subsequently became Fritz Kuhn's Bund, and I at that time was acting as a confidential secretary to Mr. Gulden, having been placed there by Congressman Dickstein, and became rather friendly with Mr. Pelley, who subsequently came to my apartment to visit me to convince me about the Silver Shirts, and what the Silver Shirt organization was doing.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Before you proceed, what did he wear?

Miss WARING. He was wearing a uniform, and he came to my house with two bodyguards.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. What kind of a uniform, will you describe it, please?

Miss WARING. He had on black boots and riding breeches, and a military jacket with a Sam Brown belt and a Silver Shirt, with the silver "L" on his shoulder, and a leather jacket, and he came in and claimed that he had just flown in, in his own plane, with his two bodyguards.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, he did not suspect that you were Jewish, did he?

Miss WARING. That had nothing to do with it. He did not know anything about me personally.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ask you any questions along that line?

Miss WARING. Oh, no.

Mr. CASEY. What was the date of that meeting?

Miss WARING. That was in 1934, I believe it was April.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Proceed from then on: were his men in uniform?

Miss WARING. His men were not in uniform.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And then what happened?

Miss WARING. He was in uniform, and when he came into my apartment with his bodyguards he sort of looked around the place to be sure that he would be secure, and safe, and he dismissed his bodyguards and removed from his person a shoulder holster with a gun, and kept on his person a hip holster with a gun in it.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. In other words, he had two guns.

Miss WARING. Yes, sir.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Were the guns that you saw similar to that?

Miss WARING. Well, I dare say that that was one of the guns, because I distinctly remember the "L" that had been carved in the butt of it.

Mr. THOMAS. Would you say that that was one of the guns?

Miss WARING. I do say that that was one of the guns because I remember that the "L" had been carved into it, and he spoke of it as being a Luger, and I believe that that is a Luger.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. What happened after that?

Mr. THOMAS. Before we go on with anything else, I would like to clear up a few points on the gun. Do you believe that this is one of the guns that he had?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. You believe that that is one of the guns?

Miss WARING. I do.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, Mr. Dickstein, how did you get the gun?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I got the gun when Mr. Kramer brought down all of the material that was shipped in a big case, in a big box. I found it in the box.

Mr. THOMAS. The reason that you believe it was one of the guns that Mr. Pelley had was because of the "L"?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you ever examined the date of that gun, Mr. Dickstein?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No; I did not look at it until I found it in the rubbish, I paid no attention to it.

The CHAIRMAN. At any rate he had guns on him?

Miss WARING. He had two guns.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you that he was going to do?

Miss WARING. Well, he took about two hours and a half explaining to me, thinking that I had a great deal of money, that I would come to the support of the Silver Shirts and the Silver Legion, and likewise to help him finance a magazine, Liberation, and he spent all of his time telling me exactly what the purpose of the Silver Shirts was.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you with reference to that?

Miss WARING. That they would eventually march on Washington, that he would be the dictator of the United States, that he had patterned his program exactly after that of Hitler in Germany, that he was going to use the same termite method, and that his idea was definitely to take possession of the United States, that between himself and Royal Scott Gulden that they could place seven men around New York City in key positions, and that these seven men could control New York, meaning the water supply and the electrical supply, and transportation, and what not.

He told me that his troops were definitely being trained, that he had ammunition, and that he had guns.

The CHAIRMAN. What issue did he say that he was going to rise to power on?

Miss WARING. On what issue?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; what issue?

Miss WARING. On the issue of fascism, and anti-communism, and anti-Semitism, and pro-Germanism, and pro-nazi-ism, and he was definitely tied up with the Nazis here. When I visited his offices here in Washington at the Woodward Building, to see Mr. Toll, his adjutant, Mr. Toll told me that the German steamship company was supporting their publication in a measure, that they could not do it ostensibly, but that they would send in money, for instance, \$500 for an advertisement the actual space for which cost \$50, and that the German steamship company here would charge up \$500 to advertising, and that only \$50 of that \$500 would be used for advertising.

The CHAIRMAN. Primarily did he not emphasize and did you not gather from his conversation that what he sought to do was to stir up racial hatred in the United States as a means of accomplishing what he wanted to do?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That was the burden of his speech, was it not? Did it not all hinge around the question of racial and religious hatred?

Miss WARING. Yes; he admitted that he was patterning his methods after the Nazi Government, which we understand is built on race hatred and dictatorship.

Mr. THOMAS. Had Mr. Pelley ever met you before this time?

Miss WARING. Before he was at my apartment?

Mr. THOMAS. Yes.

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, it is not clear to me why Mr. Pelley thought that you were a person of considerable means.

Miss WARING. Well, at that time I was living on Park Avenue, and was, let us put it this way, not of considerable means.

Mr. THOMAS. He gathered from the location of your apartment that you were a person of considerable means?

Miss WARING. Well, not alone that, but I had entertained Mr. Gulden on many occasions in my apartment, and also Colonel Emerson, and various people from the bund, and the impression was naturally having been at my table, and seeing my surroundings, that I was a person of affluence.

The CHAIRMAN. What I am trying to get the explanation of, is that in order for you to gain their confidence you were compelled to sympathize with their own views?

Miss WARING. Oh, surely. I went to the bund meetings every Tuesday night.

The CHAIRMAN. That is preliminary to this, that I am trying to get, that you had to first go through some preliminary activity on your part in order to gain their confidence.

Miss WARING. I started out by becoming a member of the Friends of Germany, which was Colonel Emerson's outfit.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak German?

Miss WARING. I do; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you born in Germany?

Miss WARING. No; but my grandparents were all Germans.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you speak it fluently?

Miss WARING. Fluently enough to convince them that I was.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ask you about your antecedents?

Miss WARING. I took an Aryan test, and I was proved 100 percent Aryan.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ask you about the question of whether or not your people were from Germany, or anything of that sort? The reason I ask that is because there has been evidence that when anyone joined the Friends of Germany or the bund that an investigation was made of their parents in Germany.

Miss WARING. Mr. Gulden recommended me so highly and Colonel Emerson recommended me so highly, I have always been mixed up in German-American affairs on account of my ancestry, I have always been interested in it, and consequently in what superficial investigation of me that they made, they were quite satisfied that my in-

terest was German-American, and then they gave me this test, they burned a portion of my hair, and as I said I was proven to be completely Aryan, by having a sample of my hair burned. It burned the right way and not the other, and so I was admitted.

The CHAIRMAN. Where did that occur?

Miss WARING. That was in Yorkville, that was one night when we were in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. That was before they admitted you to the Friends of New Germany?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. THOMAS. Have you visited in Germany?

Miss WARING. Yes; in 1936.

Mr. THOMAS. In 1936?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. How long did you stay in Germany?

Miss WARING. Not very long, just long enough to get out.

Mr. THOMAS. Well, about how long?

Miss WARING. I was only there in transit, going from Austria to Belgium.

Mr. THOMAS. What was your purpose of your visit at that time?

Miss WARING. I went over on a dual purpose. I went over to get various interviews, and also to see what information I could gather.

Mr. THOMAS. How long did you stay in Europe all told?

Miss WARING. Six weeks.

Mr. THOMAS. That is all.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, both the Friends of New Germany and Gulden and Pelley and all of them were very much interested in the question of whether a person was Aryan or not, were they not?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. There was not any distinction between any of them as to that requirement?

Miss WARING. One of their bylaws is that no person other than an Aryan can become a member of either the Order of '76, or the Silver Shirts, or any one of the organizations, or the Paul Reveres, or any of the Shirt movements.

The CHAIRMAN. And from your experience you found that they worked together sympathetically, that their aims and purposes and their sympathies were all in common, is that right?

Miss WARING. How I got down to see Mr. Toll—

Mr. DICKSTEIN (interposing). Answer that last question.

Miss WARING. It was that Mr. Gulden sent me down, and I went as an emissary of Mr. Gulden's.

The CHAIRMAN. While they had separate organizations, as a matter of fact it was all one and the same movement?

Miss WARING. Definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. After you joined the Friends of Germany, then you joined the next one?

Miss WARING. I joined the Friends of New Germany; that was Dr. Greible's outfit.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Then you were a member of the Order of '76?

Miss WARING. Yes; and a member of the Paul Reveres.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. And then Pelley came and visited Gulden?

Miss WARING. Yes; and Mr. Gulden introduced me to Mr. Pelley as his confidential secretary, and, naturally, Mr. Pelley was interested in knowing what I had to say, and Mr. Gulden was interested in having me act as a liaison officer for him, as far as Mr. Pelley was concerned, to see if he could not also get money from Pelley to continue the Order of '76.

The CHAIRMAN. So you think the real reason that Pelley came to your apartment was upon the belief that he could secure financial aid from you?

Miss WARING. I think so, and also to interest my friends in joining the Silver Shirts.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you have not finished the conversation or what took place in the apartment. Have you given us in substance everything that took place there?

Miss WARING. Well, in substance. Well, he had a dossier with him about Colonel Emerson, head of the Friends of Germany, and just to show what type of a person he is, he was living with Colonel Emerson's son at that time, at the Hotel Edison, and, nevertheless, he brought to my house a very lengthy dossier exposing Colonel Emerson as being a thief and a crook, because he was afraid that Colonel Emerson was taking away some of his power, and, of course, that could not exist.

Anyone who threatened to take away Pelley's throne, a charge was trumped up against him, because he would not tolerate that, and he very definitely stated that he was going to be the leader, and that was all that there was to it.

The CHAIRMAN. After that meeting at the apartment, what next occurred, and what was your relationship after that?

Miss WARING. The next day we had a meeting at Mr. Gulden's office, Mr. Pelley, and Mr. Gulden, and Mr. Rawlins, and a gentleman who was the leader of the Ku Klux Klan in the Westchester section of New York State and in New York City, and another leader of the Ku Klux Klan, I do not remember his name, and Mr. Pelley's two bodyguards.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you know that they were leaders of the Klan, did they so describe themselves?

Miss WARING. Mr. Pelley introduced them as such, as leaders of the Klan, who would gladly cooperate with Mr. Gulden, or with the Friends of New Germany.

Mr. Orgell also was there, and Mr. Orgell was at that time secretary of the Friends of Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. And you met where?

Miss WARING. At Mr. Gulden's office.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, what took place at that meeting?

Miss WARING. That was just sort of a rehash of what Mr. Pelley had told me the night before, and how they were going to plan to take over the Government, and how eventually he would lead this army as the White King into Washington, and it seemed to be a very simple matter in his mind, because he felt that as he marched into Washington thousands of people would simply join along in this pilgrimage.

It is a little vague in my mind how the meeting ended, but I know Mr. Pelley then went back to Asheville that night, and subsequently

there was a great deal of correspondence between Mr. Pelley and Mr. Gulden, and Colonel Emerson and the Friends of New Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. You continued as secretary to Mr. Gulden how long after you met Pelley?

Miss WARING. I should say about 4 months or 3 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you see Pelley thereafter, after the meeting in Gulden's office?

Miss WARING. He was there twice, but I could not be too curious, so I just greeted him and minded my own business.

The CHAIRMAN. But you did see the letters that passed between Gulden and Pelley during that 4-month period?

Miss WARING. I turned those over to the committee, to the Dickstein-McCormack committee. I took them.

The CHAIRMAN. You photostated them, and returned the originals to Gulden's office files?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What year was that?

Miss WARING. That was in 1934.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, is there anything else that occurred during that 4-month period?

Miss WARING. Nothing except the cementing of these contacts which had been made, and a constant interchange of ideas and propaganda, and a more distinct tie-up every day with the Nazi Government.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Did he say anything to you about army officers; that he had some control of the Army?

Miss WARING. He spoke about Captain Rubley, and I do not remember the names, very frankly, any more. They were all in the reports which I made: there were various Army officers, National Guardsmen, and what not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you make this contact in the beginning for the purpose of getting information? Of course you had no sympathy with the movement?

Miss WARING. I was asked to make it because I spoke German, and I discovered that Colonel Emerson and I had a mutual friend, Mr. George Sylvester Vierick, and that was before Mr. Vierick became an agent of the Nazi Government.

The CHAIRMAN. I know him.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. He testified before your committee, I think.

Miss WARING. It was not very difficult to meet Colonel Emerson.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, why did you quit the service of Mr. Gulden, how did that happen? Did he discover who you were, or anything about that? You were with him 4 months after that?

Miss WARING. I believe that I quit Mr. Gulden just before the executive session of the McCormack-Dickstein Committee in New York, because I was asked to appear, but I did not appear except in private sessions.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did testify publicly?

Miss WARING. But I was afraid that I would have to, so I simply faded out of the picture.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they ever discover that you had passed this information on to someone else, or what your purpose was?

Miss WARING. They did discover it.

The CHAIRMAN. What did they do then, when they discovered it, did they ever approach you?

Miss WARING. Well, Mr. Gulden did not, he naturally was so surprised that he was taken off his feet, but Mr. Orgell and the Friends of New Germany threatened to make it a little difficult for me a couple of times, but it did not concern me particularly, and the German papers, of course, they attacked me, and I was put on the unfriendly list in Germany, but other than that I have not suffered.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Pelley try to contact you afterward?

Miss WARING. Never.

The CHAIRMAN. He never did?

Miss WARING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. During the time when you were talking to Pelley, did he ever ask you for a donation?

Miss WARING. Not in so many words, he simply explained that any support that I could get for him would be to my benefit, I do not know what benefit it was going to be, if I was going to be a White Queen or not, but he made it very clear that anything that I did for him would ultimately strengthen my position.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when you joined these organizations, did they issue you a membership card?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have those cards?

Miss WARING. That was turned over to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Over to the McCormack committee?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Your membership cards in the Friends of New Germany?

Miss WARING. Yes; and my membership card in the Order of '76, passing me through police lines, when you became a member.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Did they say that these membership cards passed you through police lines?

Miss WARING. Yes. It said, in case of pogrom kindly pass Miss Waring through police lines, as she has been proven 100-percent Arvan.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know where those membership cards are?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I am looking for it, and I hope to find it. I recall that Miss Waring turned over a batch of stuff to the committee, and Mr. Kramer was the secretary of the committee, and I let him take over all of the documents, and I have not touched any of these documents.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any independent recollection that you saw the membership cards that Miss Waring turned over?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I saw the card for the Friends of New Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not recall about the others?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. No; I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you turn over your cards to the McCormack-Dickstein committee by mail or did you turn it over when you testified at the executive session?

Miss WARING. I do not remember.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. My best recollection was that the story was this, that we will locate them but here is what happened: Without going into detail, we knew that we could not put her on the public witness

stand. She gave us all of this information in executive session, and she never was a public witness, and at that time we told her and instructed her to turn over all of the cards or documents that she might have to the committee, or to Mr. Kramer or Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Randolph kept some of this material aside from Mr. Kramer up in the fifth floor of the Old House Office Building. It may be in some of the files and I hope to pick that up, but I saw the card of the Friends of New Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever give your information to the Department of Justice?

Miss WARING. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you ever approached by any Department of Justice agent for information? The point I am asking about is that under your testimony, these men were, as I understand you, they were engaged in treasonable conduct.

Miss WARING. Very definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. There was no question about what they intended to do, as they told you, was to bring about the overthrow of this Government by force and violence?

Miss WARING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. By organizing a revolutionary army and marching on the city of Washington; that was the gist of it, was it not?

Miss WARING. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And I am wondering if that information was ever brought to the Department of Justice for action under the statute that we passed in 1918.

Miss WARING. The only information I remember having given was indirectly, on the Nazi situation, but not on the Silver Shirt situation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did they not tell you that they were gathering important military information in the United States?

Miss WARING. I beg your pardon.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they not tell you that they were gathering important military information, secrets?

Miss WARING. That was a known fact, they had an espionage bureau.

The CHAIRMAN. They did not conceal that from you?

Miss WARING. No; that was in their office in Washington.

The CHAIRMAN. To get military secrets to pass on to Germany?

Miss WARING. That was in the Woodward Building, and they published this confidential bulletin, which was distributed to their members.

The CHAIRMAN. The confidential bulletin did not contain military secrets, but they represented to you that they were obtaining military secrets?

Miss WARING. That is what they represented.

The CHAIRMAN. And it was no doubt in your mind from what they said, what they were going to do with the military secrets?

Miss WARING. No; none at all; I was just incensed when Mr. Pelley, if I may be frank enough to say so, when Mr. Pelley stated here how friendly he was, because I remember so distinctly his speaking very differently to those within the "know," within his own circle, that he was absolutely lying as he testified before you.

The CHAIRMAN. What do you mean, friendly about what?

Miss WARING. In his testimony before your committee.

Mr. THOMAS. That is friendship for the Dies committee?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What he was trying to do was to give us the kiss of death, everybody knew that, however.

Miss WARING. He also laughed and scoffed at everything that the Government was trying to do, as far as un-American activities.

Mr. DEMPSEY. He did not say anything about the Dies committee in his conversation with you. The Dies committee was not then in existence.

Miss WARING. But he spoke about the McCormack-Dickstein committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, was it their purpose to train their followers along military lines?

Miss WARING. Very definitely.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they say that they had made contacts in the National Guard, and in the military forces of the United States?

Miss WARING. Mr. Pelley said that.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Pelley told you that?

Miss WARING. Yes; he was bragging, you see. His whole attitude was what a great man he was.

The CHAIRMAN. What did he tell you as to why the Government did not prosecute him? Did he say he had some sort of influence?

Miss WARING. He had too much strength, and the Government, and the Nation at large, he felt, was in sympathy with his movement.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he tell you that he had any other contacts here in Washington that made him feel secure against prosecution?

Miss WARING. I do not remember that he did. He told me about a fund which was being raised, and he tried to get me to approach several people to donate money to this fund, and he showed me several letters, and he also sent me copies of letters to Mr. Gulden from these people, saying that they would contribute very generously if they were sure that Mr. Pelley would become the dictator of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you think then from your work in the office, did you think that they had much of a membership, a very large membership?

Miss WARING. Yes; at that time. In 1934 I should think that Mr. Pelley had around 80,000 to 100,000 men.

The CHAIRMAN. He had 80,000 to 100,000 members?

Miss WARING. Men, not women; I am not counting the women members.

The CHAIRMAN. That is male members of the organization?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the Order of '76, how many members did they have?

Miss WARING. They had a small membership.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the membership in that organization?

Miss WARING. I should say between 150 and 250.

The CHAIRMAN. That is 150 to 250 people?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the membership of the Friends of New Germany?

MISS WARING. Oh, at that time I could not tell you, Mr. Dies; they used to have five and six thousand people at the meetings in New York alone.

THE CHAIRMAN. At membership meetings or open meetings?

MISS WARING. Open meetings.

THE CHAIRMAN. But you do not know whether the five or six thousand were members?

MR. DICKSTEIN. May I say here that my figures from the units and the cells, as they call them, is close to over 200,000 in the Greater City of New York.

THE CHAIRMAN. The testimony of the bund officials here under oath is that they had 80,000 altogether.

MR. DICKSTEIN. Mr. Chairman, I attended one of their meetings in the Camp Siegfried. I could not get in, I was on the outside, and there were over 28,000 to 30,000 members then, and they all passed in with cards, in that one camp alone.

THE CHAIRMAN. I was trying to gather from her if she had any accurate information as to the membership of this organization while she was a member, the Friends of New Germany. Did they represent to you what the membership was?

MISS WARING. They represented a huge amount around the United States.

THE CHAIRMAN. What about your observation, or what did you gather the membership strength was at that time?

MISS WARING. In New York City, or do you mean in the United States?

THE CHAIRMAN. In the United States. Well, you would not know what the membership would be in the United States.

MISS WARING. I could not say.

THE CHAIRMAN. What about New York, at the meetings that you attended; you went to the closed meetings, did you not?

MISS WARING. I went to the open and closed meetings.

THE CHAIRMAN. In the closed meetings, how many people did they have?

MISS WARING. They would have in the membership meetings, I should say, around 2,000 or 3,000.

THE CHAIRMAN. Two or three thousand?

MISS WARING. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. Now, were those people to a great extent, or a great majority of those people, people of German descent?

MISS WARING. The great majority of them were Germans.

THE CHAIRMAN. When I say Germans, or people of German descent, many of them were naturalized citizens of the United States?

MISS WARING. Quite a few of them were, a lot of them had their first papers.

THE CHAIRMAN. Most of them were people who had either come to the United States in recent years or people who came after the war?

MISS WARING. Oh, yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. And most of them had served in the German armed forces during the war, had they not?

MISS WARING. Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN. You did not find any old line German stock?

MISS WARING. None at all; they were absolutely conspicuous by their absence. They were all of the younger element.

The CHAIRMAN. So that it is accurate to say that the bund movement in the United States is largely recruited from people who migrated to this country after the World War, is that not true?

Miss WARING. I believe so.

The CHAIRMAN. That was your observation, was it not?

Miss WARING. A great many of them emigrated since Mr. Hitler's regime. A lot of them had, and a great many of them had only taken out their first papers, that were in the Friends of New Germany.

The CHAIRMAN. In these meetings of the Friends of New Germany, you heard a number of speakers. Did they speak in German or English?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. They spoke in both German and English?

Miss WARING. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What was their allegiance as expressed in the speeches and in the attitude of the listeners and their salutes? Was it as proclaimed in the constitution of the bund, that they were loyal to the United States, or was their real royalty to—

Miss WARING (interposing). They made no mention of loyalty to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the gist of the burden of the whole speeches?

Miss WARING. The speeches opened with the Horst Wessel, and in those days there was no sign of an American flag in the meetings at all. It was only the Nazi flags and a great deal of bunting around the place, and they opened their meetings with this national anthem.

Mr. THOMAS. What national anthem?

Miss WARING. The Horst Wessel; and then they would have three or four speakers for the evening under the direction of either Dr. Greible or Dr. Gissibl, or who happened to be the leader of that particular local at the time. I am only speaking of the Yorkville local.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that Giesible was at that time leader of the Yorkville branch?

Miss WARING. During the meetings that I went to Greible and Giesible were there.

The CHAIRMAN. Giesible was never the leader of the New York local, he was from Chicago.

Miss WARING. He came to New York.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did meet his brother, Peter Gissibl, he was never there?

Miss WARING. I do not recall.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. When they took charge of the meeting, what did they do?

Miss WARING. Well, they would have speakers, really remarkable speakers, because I do not see how people could become so incensed for a fee against the Government. They would start off with the attack against Roosevelt, and then, of course, being in New York City, secondarily it would be Mayor LaGuardia, and then Congressmen Dickstein and McCormack, and any Jewish leader that they could think of at the moment who was in the public eye, and they would defile them most nauseatingly, and, for instance, Giesible, when he was leader, he insisted that all of the members of the Friends of New Germany become American citizens, because as American citi-

zens they would have much more to say, and there should be a greater German representation in the United States Government.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What year was this?

Miss WARING. This was in 1934; 1933, 1934, and 1935.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What part of the year was all of this going on?

Miss WARING. The first meetings that I went to were in the fall of 1933, and they continued through the year, and during the summer of 1934, through the fall of 1934, and then they began to peter out a little.

Mr. DEMPSEY. When were the attacks upon LaGuardia?

Miss WARING. In 1934, and 1935.

Mr. DEMPSEY. And he was elected in 1934, was he not?

Miss WARING. I believe he was.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That was in November of 1934?

Miss WARING. Yes; and he was running for election.

Mr. CASEY. Was there an admission charged to these open meetings?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. How much?

Miss WARING. Fifteen cents for ladies, and I think it was 25 cents for men, and this went to the winter relief in Nazi Germany.

Mr. CASEY. Did Mr. Pelley ever tell you whether or not he was going to arm his followers when they marched on Washington?

Miss WARING. Did he tell me that they were going to arm them?

Miss WARING. He did not say that he was going to arm them. He said—his implication all through his conversation was that they were armed at that moment.

Mr. CASEY. And I thought that he told you that he expected as he marched on Washington to have great hordes of people join in this march?

Miss WARING. Yes; along the road.

Mr. CASEY. Did he ever say anything about whether or not they would arm those people who came to the cause on the march to Washington?

Miss WARING. No; that he did not say. He simply spoke of his own legion as being an armed legion. Whether these people that they picked up en route would be armed or not I don't know. He probably had visions of their appearing with rifles on their shoulders.

Mr. CASEY. Did he impress you as suffering from delusions of grandeur, being under the influence of delusions of grandeur when he was in your apartment?

Miss WARING. Yes; he impressed me as being a man of tremendous ego, tremendous.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, gentlemen, any other questions?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. Now, with the reservation that I may submit whatever else I can find to tie up this, and on the question of the Christian Front and the Christian Mobilizers, I will take it up with you, or your committee.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask Miss Waring a couple of questions.

Miss Waring, have you or any of your friends any contact with this man Gulden, since you left?

Miss WARING. I have.

Mr. THOMAS. You have, yourself?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What years did you have contact with Gulden?

Miss WARING. About 6 months ago.

Mr. THOMAS. Six months ago?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. THOMAS. Was he still interested at that time in these same sort of so-called Fascist movements?

Miss WARING. I can't say that. I met him on the street, and we chatted for about half an hour and he told me that he was still interested in any anti-communistic organizations, but he made no mention at all of the Silver Shirts.

Mr. THOMAS. Is he in the same business now?

Miss WARING. He is in the real-estate business.

Mr. THOMAS. In New York City?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. How did it happen, didn't he show any resentment against you at the time that you met him there on the street?

Miss WARING. No; he did not.

Mr. VOORHIS. How do you explain that?

Miss WARING. Well, he is so completely out of the picture now, and I think that he got over his resentment. He feels himself to be a patriot, and he feels that our having spoken of them and brought to light the Nazi activities in this country, that in a measure I was as much of a patriot.

Mr. VOORHIS. He was in sympathy with that part of it, with bringing to light the Nazi activity?

Miss WARING. The communistic activities particularly.

Mr. VOORHIS. Either one of them he would be in sympathy with?

Miss WARING. Yes; at this point.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then he would not agree with Pelley now as he did before?

Miss WARING. I have no idea, Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I think that he would make a very important witness and give this committee some great light.

Mr. LYNCH. May I ask you a question, Miss Waring?

Did Mr. Pelley ever say to you whether or not he or his men had a supply of guns or ammunition?

Miss WARING. He told me that his legionnaires were armed.

Mr. LYNCH. Did he say how they obtained arms or where they were procured?

Miss WARING. I remember some correspondence with either the Winchester or the Remington Arms Co.

Mr. LYNCH. Go ahead.

Miss WARING. I don't remember which it was, that Pelley through Gulden had. He did not ever specify any arsenals, any specific arsenals, if that is what you mean.

Mr. LYNCH. Did he ever order any rifles or ammunition from these companies that you have mentioned, Winchester or others?

Miss WARING. That I cannot tell you but he did tell me that he had to charge a rather large initiation and membership fee so that he could procure various ammunitions and uniforms and what not for the legionnaires.

Mr. LYNCH. Did he ever say that he had procured those?

Miss WARING. He told me that definitely, his legionnaires were armed.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know whether or not there was ever turned over to the Department of Justice the information which you gave to the New York committee, with regard to the overthrow of the Government and marching upon the Government?

Miss WARING. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever see any officials of Germany in Mr. Gulden's office in New York, either from Washington, or from Germany, who happened to come in there from time to time, and if so who were they?

Miss WARING. I do not remember seeing anyone at Mr. Gulden's office other than Mr. Orgell or Colonel Emerson and Captain Mensing, of the North German Lloyd, but we were together on many parties at the German ships, on the *Europa* and the *Bremen* and *Deutschland*.

Mr. LYNCH. You mean by "we," who?

Miss WARING. Mr. Gulden, and Mr. Orgell and I.

Mr. LYNCH. What would be discussed on those parties when you would be on the *Europa* or other German boats, with regard to the matters which we are investigating here?

Miss WARING. Nothing pertinent. These were social affairs, simply to gather sympathizers and so on.

Mr. LYNCH. Were the head officers of the steamship lines, would they be present on these occasions?

Miss WARING. Yes; there were some.

Mr. LYNCH. And they would entertain anyone who was interested in the German movement, entertain them lavishly?

Miss WARING. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. By indirection, at least, urge them to get additional members?

Miss WARING. Well, that I cannot say, honestly.

Mr. LYNCH. Is there anything of any importance that occurred on any of those meetings on board ship that would be helpful to the committee with regard to the activities of the German element in this country?

Miss WARING. Well, the spread of written or printed propaganda.

Mr. LYNCH. Did they furnish that?

Miss WARING. Well, all of these boats had that on board.

Mr. LYNCH. That is all.

Mr. CASEY. With reference to the correspondence which you say Pelley had through Gulden, with either the Remington or Winchester Arms Co., did you have anything to do with typing or dictating those?

Miss WARING. I took them and had them photostated and put them back.

Mr. CASEY. Do you know where the photostatic copies are?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I remember one photostatic copy of some correspondence with some outfit in Connecticut, whether it is the Remington or some other outfit, in which they were negotiating some arms, and that is the letter I am looking for. I think that I can find it.

Mr. CASEY. Would not the Remington or the Winchester have the letters which were sent to them?

Mr. DICKSTEIN. I think so.

Mr. CASEY. About what time was that correspondence?

Miss WARING. That was in the spring of 1934.

Mr. THOMAS. Where did you have your letters photostated?

Miss WARING. 11 West Forty-second Street.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you recall the name of the place?

Miss WARING. I do not.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, gentlemen, if that is all, the committee will stand adjourned until tomorrow morning at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m. adjournment was taken to 10:30 a. m. tomorrow, Wednesday, April 3, 1940.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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WEDNESDAY, APRIL 3, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE  
UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

A hearing of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities convened at 10:30 a. m., in the caucus room of the House Office Building, Washington, D. C., the Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

Also present: Sol H. Cohn, appearing as an attorney and counsel for Thomas F. P. O'Dea.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair appoints a subcommittee composed of the chairman, Mr. Casey of Massachusetts, and Mr. Thomas of New Jersey, for the purpose of hearing the witnesses. This subcommittee is appointed due to the absence of a quorum of the full committee. If a quorum comes in, as it probably will in a few minutes, the Chair will then resolve this into a full committee.

Mr. O'Dea, will you please come to the witness stand?

## STATEMENT OF THOMAS F. P. O'DEA, PRESIDENT, YOUNG COMMUNIST LEAGUE OF MASSACHUSETTS

Mr. COHN. I represent Mr. O'Dea.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Cohn appears as the attorney in behalf of Mr. O'Dea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. O'DEA. Thomas F. P. O'Dea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where do you live?

Mr. O'DEA. In Boston.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your address?

Mr. O'DEA. 295 Huntington Avenue, Boston.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please give briefly your educational background?

Mr. O'DEA. I went 8 years to St. Joseph's School.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a quorum present, and we will go into the full committee, with Mr. Dempsey, of New Mexico; Mr. Casey, of Massachusetts, and the chairman, and Mr. Thomas, of New Jersey. Now, you may proceed.

Mr. O'DEA. I went 8 years to St. Joseph's School in Amesbury, Mass. I went 4 years to Amesbury High School, and graduated in 1933. I was out of school a year and unable to get work, and man-

aged together with my family to scrape together enough money to go to 4 years of Wentworth Institute, which is a technical school located in Boston. There I took a technical course in printing. That is all of my formal education.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born?

Mr. O'DEA. I was born in Amesbury, Mass.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When?

Mr. O'DEA. In December; December 1, 1915.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How are you employed at present?

Mr. O'DEA. I am the president of the Young Communist League of Massachusetts.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you held that position?

Mr. O'DEA. Since February of 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Since the fall of 1933.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you join the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. In my home town.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In Amesbury?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who recruited you into the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I do not recall right now, as a matter of fact, that was a long time ago. I was interested in the ideals of Communism for several months or a year or a year and a half before I joined the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever held any other positions in the Young Communist League than the one that you hold at present?

Mr. O'DEA. I was a member of the State Committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Any other positions?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not recall any other; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where are the headquarters of the Young Communist League of Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. At 15 Essex Street, Boston.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What territory is included under your jurisdiction as president of the Young Communist League of Massachusetts, any territory other than the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. No. Theoretically, yes, perhaps; but practically, no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What would be included theoretically that is not included practically?

Mr. O'DEA. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, we have a few members in New Hampshire and Vermont, I forgot that, and Rhode Island.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And do you maintain contacts with them as president of the State League in Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members of the Young Communist League are there in the territory over which you are president?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not know exactly, I would say about maybe 300 to 350.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Three hundred to 350?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not keep a record of the number of members of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. No; I have no exact record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you make any kind of report to the national headquarters of the Young Communist League concerning the number of members?

Mr. O'DEA. No; just the kind of report that I made to you right now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You write them that you have approximately 300 to 350 members?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you make any other kind of report to the headquarters of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. No; no regular reports of any kind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there dues in the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How much are the dues?

Mr. O'DEA. They vary from about 10 cents a month to about a quarter a month.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And what disposition is made of these dues?

Mr. O'DEA. We keep half of the 10 cents, which is a nickel, and we send 5 cents to the national office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then you do make some kind of a financial report?

Mr. O'DEA. We send in that money; that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, where are the national headquarters of the Young Communist League located?

Mr. O'DEA. I think it is 799 Broadway, New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What publication does the Young Communist League bring out?

Mr. O'DEA. You mean nationally or in the State?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Nationally.

Mr. O'DEA. The Review.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is that published?

Mr. O'DEA. It is published in New York. I do not know the exact address. I think it is the address of the national headquarters.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is 799 Broadway, New York?

Mr. O'DEA. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is 799 Broadway the building which has another entrance, which address is sometimes used, as East Eleventh Street?

Mr. O'DEA. No, or wait a minute.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Or 8 East Eleventh Street?

Mr. O'DEA. I am very unfamiliar with New York.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever been to the national headquarters of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes; once or twice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How often?

Mr. O'DEA. I have only been there once or twice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you bring out any publications locally?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, we have issued leaflets.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Anything other than leaflets?

Mr. O'DEA. No; not that I can think of. Certainly nothing very big.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In what places under your jurisdiction are there groups of members of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. In Boston and Greater Boston.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Where do they get the material for the leaflets and what is the type of leaflet that is issued?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe, Mr. O'Dea, what type of leaflets are issued, and where you get the material?

Mr. O'DEA. You have copies of those leaflets, we issue leaflets, and we issued a leaflet the other day on the question of the rise in juvenile delinquency in Massachusetts. Practically every time one picks up a newspaper you read about youth being driven to crime, and we issued a leaflet stating the reason for this is that they did not have jobs, and that they should be given jobs, and we also said that we thought that the youth wanted jobs.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not responsive to the question: he is asking you a general description of the leaflets that you issued.

You issue leaflets on juvenile delinquency and what other subjects?

Mr. O'DEA. I am sorry; I thought that was what I was doing.

The CHAIRMAN. Give another subject that you issue leaflets on.

Mr. O'DEA. We issued a leaflet on the question of war.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Where do you get the material for that?

Mr. O'DEA. One gets that material by reading.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Where did you get it?

Mr. O'DEA. From reading the newspapers.

Mr. DEMPSEY. It was not sent to you from headquarters?

Mr. O'DEA. Certainly not.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You never had any information from headquarters to publish such a leaflet?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. DEMPSEY. In other words, each branch of the Young Communist League gets together what they desire to distribute and distribute that irrespective of what the national organization thinks about it?

Mr. O'DEA. We know our opinions on subjects, and we are able to issue leaflets, and we do not get any instructions on how to issue leaflets.

Mr. DEMPSEY. Nor do you get the material which is contained in the leaflet.

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. THOMAS. Right at that point, Mr. Chairman, how is it, then, that all of the branches of the Young Communist League sent out leaflets at the same time on the same subjects?

Mr. O'DEA. I did not know that they did.

Mr. THOMAS. Do you not know that at the present time they are all sending out leaflets in regard to war, and also in regard to juvenile delinquency?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I think that it is not hard to answer that. The point is that everybody is talking about these subjects, and we are talking about them, too.

Mr. THOMAS. You do have a contact, though, with the national headquarters, and discuss these various subjects, do you not?

Mr. O'DEA. I have not discussed these subjects with the national headquarters; we issue the leaflets on our own initiative.

Mr. THOMAS. But you receive some word from the national headquarters on these particular subjects?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not recall, to be frank with you, and if I did I did not pay any attention to it because I issued these leaflets and my headquarters issued these leaflets on our own initiative.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did I understand you to say that you have 350 members about in the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not know how many you have in Maine and New Hampshire and these other States that theoretically are under your jurisdiction?

Mr. O'DEA. It is very small, I do not know how many.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Mr. O'Dea, will you give us the names of the leading branches, or centers, or whatever you call the local unit of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. You have a list of them there. I do not know if I can recall all of them, but we have them in Boston, in the towns around Boston, the Greater Boston area, and in Worcester and Springfield, and most of the towns in the Greater Boston area.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do any of these local branches of the Young Communist League bring out publications of any kind?

Mr. O'DEA. They issue leaflets.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you issued any recent leaflets in such local groups?

Mr. O'DEA. Probably; I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not know of any such leaflets issued by any local group?

Mr. O'DEA. I know that a leaflet was issued by the Young Communist League of Worcester on the question of commemorating the Easter week uprising in Ireland, which was the fight for Irish freedom in 1916, that is the latest one that I know of.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a branch of the Young Communist League in Cambridge?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is that branch called?

Mr. O'DEA. That is the Emerson Club, affiliated with the Young Communist League; that is its full title.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a Young Communist League at Harvard?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that known as the Harvard Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members are there in that branch?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, between 35 and 50, and maybe 60, I am not sure right now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are all of the members of the Harvard Young Communist League students in Harvard University?

Mr. O'DEA. I presume so; they should be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know anything to the contrary—do you know that any of them are not students at Harvard?

Mr. O'DEA. They all are, in my opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did not the Harvard Young Communist League recently bring out a leaflet?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right; a very fine leaflet, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You forgot that one a moment ago, did you not?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that a copy of the leaflet brought out by the Harvard Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask that this be marked as an exhibit. The leaflet is entitled "Is the New Deal Being Scuttled? Are We Heading Toward War? What Can the People Do About It? A Statement by the Harvard Young Communist League."

Mr. O'DEA. It is a real good example of good Harvard scholarship, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you receive any communications relating to this pamphlet from persons who disagreed sharply with you as to its scholarship?

Mr. O'DEA. Not that pamphlet, but with one previously issued.

(The document referred to above was marked "Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did these correspondents take issue with you on the question of scholarship?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, you have the letters there; you can read them. They are certainly not very scholarly even if the gentlemen who wrote them have scholarly reputations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a letter addressed to Pat O'Dea, Box 23, Essex Station, Boston, Mass., dated March 5, 1940. Did you receive that communication?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes. The story on this communication is the following—

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is all right; I just asked the question.

Mr. O'DEA. I sent a copy of that in, and this was the answer; a copy of that printed leaflet went in to New York, and this was the answer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is signed "Comradely yours," and also "Education Dept, N. C." That means the national committee, does it not?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That letter read as follows:

DEAR COMRADE O'DEA: Thank you for the copies of the Harvard Y. C. L. folder. It is exceptionally well done and should prove to be quite effective. The only statement that might be questioned is the reference in the very last paragraph which calls for "support for a legislative furthering of New Deal aims." Now, while the substance of this is correct, the expression "New Deal aims" is perhaps not the most advisable. The "New Deal" is so completely associated with Roosevelt, that its acceptance might mean acceptance of its present contents as well. The "New Deal" today is certainly not something the masses should support. It might also have been advisable to speak more specifically of the need of promoting a new anti-imperialist, anti-war party of the people. Congratulations on a splendid job.

Is that the text of the letter, as you recall it?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, this is from the national headquarters of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is a statement or a criticism of the statement issued by the Harvard Young Communist League, which amounts to instructions for future propaganda, is it not?

Mr. O'DEA. That I have to answer at a little length, because the leaflet itself is a large four-page leaflet, and if the gentleman and the committee will look at it they will see that it deals with a great

deal of material, and that letter takes one little specific instance, and it is a criticism in the same form that a book review is a literary criticism, and it is not an instruction by any means.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When you bring out your next piece of literature, or when you make speeches, you will make a point to follow the criticism contained in this letter, will you not?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not know; I cannot answer that right now.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Until you get some further indication of the wishes of the national headquarters, you will carry out those instructions, will you not?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not know. I cannot say what I will say when I go out; I do think that the criticism is a correct one. My own personal opinion is that I think it is a correct one, if that is the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So therefore since you look upon it as correct, you do adopt it as your present viewpoint?

Mr. O'DEA. It was my viewpoint before.

Mr. COHN. Will you offer the original leaflet in evidence?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have.

I will offer the letter of March 5 in evidence as exhibit No. 2.

**(The document above referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the secretary of the Harvard Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. I refuse to answer that question because I believe that by answering that question I will expose this person to economic persecution. He will be unable to get a job, and getting a job is the only way he will be able to live, and I think under the fourteenth amendment, that is due process, his only property will be his scholarship and his job, and he will lose that.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you decline to answer?

Mr. LYNCH. I think that that should be stricken from the record, all of the witness's statement except the statement that he refuses to answer, on the ground that it is entirely immaterial. The only right that he has to refuse to answer is one, that his answer might tend to incriminate him; and if he objects on that ground why, of course, that is all right, but otherwise he has absolutely no right to refuse.

Mr. COHN. I think that is an incorrect statement of the law handed down by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Sinclair* against the United States and other cases. I think that the objection of the witness is well taken.

Mr. CASEY. What is the *Sinclair case*?

Mr. COHN. In that case the Supreme Court said that the witness had other rights to object in addition to the one, the privilege against self-incrimination. It said that, for example, the committee had no right to delve into matters that were personal or private matters affecting the witness, and other cases held that the committee may only ask questions, and the witness has the right to refuse to answer questions which are not material to the investigation, questions that are not relevant to the investigation, questions that are not within the scope of the investigation.

The committee is limited by those decisions of the United States Supreme Court in addition to the constitutional provision against self-incrimination.

May I further say that it is my belief that the witness has a full right to explain his refusal to answer.

Mr. LYNCH. I submit that none of the reasons advanced by Mr. Cohn are applicable to this witness. In other words, this witness does not say that they are not material, this witness does not say that they are personal to him, but he says that they are personal to someone else, and, of course, he has no right to attempt to protect somebody else.

Mr. COHN. We are going to bring to the United States Supreme Court the question of whether a witness has a right to decline to answer questions, in view of what the chairman has already stated in the record, that he proposes to use any names of Communist members for a blacklist to see to it that those—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). That is stricken from the record; that is incorrect and will be stricken.

Mr. COHN. That was the testimony when Mr. Cooes was examined. If my recollection is correct, the chairman then said that that was his purpose, and I said under those circumstances that the witness has a right to decline to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. That is stricken from the record; you are incorrect.

Mr. COHN. I respectfully object.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will take under advisement the question of whether a witness can state the reasons for his declining to answer. The Chair is not familiar with the decisions with respect to that, but for the time being we will take that under advisement. The Chair now directs you to answer the question that was asked you. Do you decline to do so?

Mr. O'DEA. I do, for the reasons stated.

The CHAIRMAN. You have already said that. You decline to answer the question?

Mr. O'DEA. I do, for the reasons stated.

Mr. CASEY. First, let us lay a little groundwork. Do you know who the secretary of the Young Communist League at Harvard is?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And the next question, I believe, which you refused to answer is: Who is he?

Mr. O'DEA. I refuse, for the stated reasons.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. O'Dea, is the secretary of the Young Communist League at Harvard secretly a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has his name ever appeared on any publications, leaflets, or in any other public manner as secretary of the Young Communist League at Harvard?

Mr. O'DEA. No, as far as I know; unless there is one there that I have not seen.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are the 50 to 60 members of the Young Communist League at Harvard secretly members of your organization?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. If you do not know that they are secret members, what is the purpose of shielding or concealing their identity at the present time?

Mr. O'DEA. Because, as I explained before, that—in the first place, let me say just in passing that I am not intimately connected with

all of these details. Secondly, even if I was I should not feel obliged to give these names because these people have the right to their own property, which is their scholastic course, and to their property which they will get after school, which is a job; and I feel that under the Constitution of the United States, the fourteenth amendment, that they should not be deprived of this, and I shall not be a party to putting anybody on a blacklist, and I feel that I am safe on constitutional grounds.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is your general statement that these individuals are secretly members of the organization, and are secret because of some fear that their membership might jeopardize them in some way in their work in the future.

Mr. O'DEA. That I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me follow that up. Are these individuals members of the Young Communist League under their right names or under an assumed name?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not know what names they are members under. Their right names, I presume.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never seen their names on any membership list or any cards or anything?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right; I never have.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you know that you have got that many there?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not know too exactly, I gave you an approximate figure, but I do know that there are around 50.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members do you know personally or know who they are? Who are the names that you know? You say that you know who the secretary is, and how many of the 50 or 60 do you know?

Mr. O'DEA. Twenty-five, maybe.

The CHAIRMAN. Twenty-five of them?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Are those 25 members of the Young Communist League under their right names or under an assumed name?

Mr. O'DEA. Under their right names.

The CHAIRMAN. Under their right names?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen their membership party books?

Mr. O'DEA. They have no books.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Their Y. C. L. membership books?

Mr. O'DEA. I may have seen the membership books of one or two or three or four of them, but I do not recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean to testify that you know that none of these members of the Young Communist League are also members of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DEA. Some of them may be.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then you would modify the statement that they have no party membership?

Mr. O'DEA. I mean that in general they have not.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It is very often the case, is it not that individuals may be members both of the Communist Party and of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. It is always the case that members may be both members of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League, but it is not generally true.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DEA. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under what name are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DEA. My right name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And also in the Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. I am a candidate for office in the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the main campaign of the present time conducted or carried on by the Young Communist group in the State of Massachusetts. Do you have some outstanding campaign at the present in that State?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, probably to elect me secretary of state.

Mr. CASEY. To elect you as what?

Mr. O'DEA. For the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, myself.

Mr. CASEY. You are a candidate for that position?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes; for secretary of state for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How old are you?

Mr. O'DEA. I am going on 25.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you had any experience in Government work?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, no; I cannot say that I have, but I learn quickly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are there any other campaigns in which the Young Communist League of Massachusetts is interested besides that of electing you to the position of secretary of state of Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. We are interested in all things that are for the welfare of young people. We are interested in peace, we are interested in wiping out juvenile delinquency.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am speaking of some specific campaign, do you have a specific campaign revolving around the question of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, peace is all-inclusive, and covered by everything. I would consider it the one platform, or as one platform on which I ran for office.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a specific campaign that you describe as such, that has to do with the question of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. I cannot say so. I may have used the term and referred to it as a specific campaign, but meaning it as a specific part of the general activities of the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not recall quite clearly and definitely that you do have a campaign that you have called a campaign that revolves around the question of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, if you mean that peace activities, speaking for peace, and trying to educate people how we can maintain peace, and all of that sort of thing is part of the activities of the Y. C. L.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you call that campaign? How do you describe it? Do you have any slogan by which you describe it?

Mr. O'DEA. We probably have several, I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the outstanding slogan that you use to describe that campaign?

Mr. O'DEA. "Keep America Out of the Imperialist War."

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any other slogan that that?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, we have a slogan, "Jobs, Not Guns," that is a good slogan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have any others? What is your main slogan?

Mr. O'DEA. "Keep America out of Imperialist Wars," that is our main slogan.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you a statement as follows: "We must be prepared to launch a campaign around the slogan, "The Yanks are not coming." Are you the author of that statement?

Mr. O'DEA. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you, or is that not one of your leading if not the leading slogan of your campaign that has to do with the question of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. I said that we must launch a campaign around it, and I cannot say that we have, but we have carried on general educational activities on the question of keeping America out of war.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But have you not frequently used that slogan, "The Yanks are not coming"?

Mr. O'DEA. That is a slogan that has been used by a lot of people, I think that that is a good slogan, too. I consider myself a Yank, even if my name is "O'Dea."

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a typewritten statement, Mr. O'Dea, and ask you if you can identify that. You have seen the document before you, have you not?

Mr. O'DEA. I want to see the whole of it now. You don't mind if I take a minute?

I think so; yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please describe what this document was?

Mr. O'DEA. Let me look at it again.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Here it is.

Mr. O'DEA. That was an article which I was going to write and I never sent it in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you write this? During the present year?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes. About, maybe a few days before I was visited by the gentleman from your committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In other words, this was written in the last 2 weeks, during the past 2 weeks?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes, or 3 weeks, maybe.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this intended for publication in the Young Communist Review, or the Review?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the Young Communist League of Massachusetts put on a campaign in connection with the so-called Washington Pilgrimage to the Citizenship Institute of the American Youth Congress which was held here in Washington in February?

Mr. O'DEA. Somewhat.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, did you put on a campaign?

Mr. O'DEA. It depends on what you mean by "a campaign."

Mr. MATTHEWS. In your own words, did you put on a campaign?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes; we spoke about it. We spoke about it at every place we spoke, we told people that we thought it was a good thing for young people to go to Washington, to learn democratic processes

and procedures, to learn how to express their opinions, and to learn how to make the country feel that youth did not want to be involved in war; we certainly did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this document identified by the witness as an article prepared for the Review, the national publication of the Young Communist League, be marked as exhibit No. 2-A.

(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 2-A.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this document you state, Mr. O'Dea:

In the campaign for the Washington Pilgrimage, what part did our groups play? An evaluation of this kind is particularly important at this time because we want to prepare now for several campaigns much greater than any we have participated in thus far.

That is an indication, is it not, that you did have some kind of a campaign for that gathering here in Washington?

Mr. O'DEA. I used the term "campaign," as you will notice, in a loose way. I don't mean that it was like Sherman's march through Georgia. I used it as an attempt, that was a real campaign, Sherman's march, but it was no attempt to popularize any particular item and a particular idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do the members of the Young Communist League in Massachusetts picket the theaters where "Gone With the Wind" is shown?

Mr. O'DEA. They have not, but that is a thought that is a very good idea. I consider that a very vicious, unhistorical, and distorted moving picture.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have answered the question already.

Have you received any instructions to picket the theaters in your locality?

Mr. O'DEA. No; I don't remember any. We would not need instructions for such a thing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do know the Young Communist Leagues in other parts of the country are picketing such theaters?

Mr. O'DEA. I think if Abraham Lincoln were living he would do it with them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read further:

Following the Washington Institute we must be prepared, together with the whole youth movement in the State, to launch a campaign around the slogan, "The Yanks Are Not Coming," to culminate in some demonstrative action on April 6, the day that has been set aside by the N. M. U. as "The Yanks Are Not Coming" Day.

What do the initials "N. M. U." stand for?

Mr. O'DEA. It stands for the National Maritime Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did the National Maritime Union initiate this campaign known as "The Yanks Are Not Coming?"

Mr. O'DEA. Well, according to the Boston newspapers which were the source of my information, I think so. I am not sure. The Boston newspapers err sometimes but not too frequently.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you subscribe to the Daily Worker?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you receive it?

Mr. O'DEA. I buy it at the newsstand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you read it?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen statements in the Daily Worker to the effect that the campaign "The Yanks Are Not Coming" was launched by the National Maritime Union?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not read the Daily Worker very carefully, do you?

Mr. COHN. I object to that question, the form of the question.

Mr. O'DEA. I am literate, Mr. Investigator. I cannot answer that question right; I can't answer it according to degree. I don't know how one measures it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming," was first proposed by Mike Quin?

Mr. O'DEA. I know that he wrote a pamphlet.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you not seen reference in the Daily Worker to the fact that Mike Quin did initiate this campaign by his pamphlet, and it was then taken up by the National Maritime Union, and has since become one of the major campaigns of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. O'DEA. That is news to me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know who Mike Quin is?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a member of the Communist Party, to your knowledge?

Mr. O'DEA. Not to my knowledge. I don't know who he is. I know he wrote a pamphlet.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that he works on the Pacific coast as a writer for the People's World?

Mr. O'DEA. I think that I read that in the Boston papers.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you say it is news to you that the Communist Party has taken up as one of its major campaigns this campaign, "The Yanks Are Not Coming?"

Mr. O'DEA. I know that the Communist Party has made it one of its major interests to help to keep America out of war, and carry on all possible education to keep America out of war, and I don't know about there being any specific campaigns.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever see that leaflet, Mr. O'Dea?

Mr. O'DEA. I did.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This leaflet is entitled, "Irish Patriots Hung. Chamberlain Is the Hangman," issued by the Communist Party of Massachusetts, 15 Essex Street, Boston?

The outstanding type in the center of the page is The Yanks Are Not Coming. Under that are the slogans, Keep America Out of the Imperialist War by Opposing the Roosevelt War Budget.

No loans or "relief" for the imperialist butcher, Mannerheim of Finland.

Feed America first. Jobs and security, not war, for the American people.

All support for a free and United Ireland.

Do you want to see that?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes. I don't think anyone could find fault with that leaflet from the point of view of fact, and from the matter of opinion, I don't find any fault with it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that this be marked "Exhibit 3," the leaflet containing the slogan "The Yanks Are Not Coming" in bold type issued by the Communist Party of Massachusetts.

**(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 3.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. O'Dea, will there take place during the next 2 weeks a demonstration by the students in the colleges of your jurisdiction on the subject of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, for the last 6 years, they always have.

The CHAIRMAN. He is asking you, this year, if you know.

Mr. O'DEA. I am going to answer that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not asking you about last year.

Mr. O'DEA. I presume so; yes, sir. Incidentally, Mr. Chairman, I would like to have the right to answer the questions. I think that I am entitled to that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have to make your answer responsive. He did not ask you about the 6 years. You certainly can answer a question if you know, and if you do not know, you can say "I don't know." If you know, you certainly can answer a question.

Mr. O'DEA. It was on the basis that they did take place in the past, and I presume that they will take place this year.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any information that this will be done, yourself?

Mr. O'DEA. Just general things that I have read.

The CHAIRMAN. Read where? In the newspapers?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no other sources of information as to that?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't recall now; no. I don't think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When will that demonstration take place, on April 19?

Mr. O'DEA. I would say, no, offhand; for the simple reason that April 19 is a holiday in Massachusetts. It is Patriot's Day, the day that the Battle of Lexington and Concord was fought. People from other parts of the country usually don't know that, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you another leaflet, Mr. O'Dea, and ask you if you have seen a copy of that?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right; I have seen a copy of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask that this be marked as exhibit No. 4. This is entitled "America Can Stay Out of War." "Mobilize on April 19, 11 a. m."

The witness has identified this as having seen it, and the slogan is given, "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

**(The leaflet was marked "Exhibit No. 4.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. "The United Student Peace Committee, 347 Madison Avenue."

Mr. COHN. May I see that?

(A document was passed to Mr. Cohn.)

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to know who issued that folder.

Mr. MATTHEWS. According to the leaflet itself, this is a leaflet issued by the United Student Peace Committee, 347 Madison Avenue, New York City, and the names of nine organizations are given as those which are apparently affiliated with that United Student Peace Committee.

Mr. COHN. Could I ask that the names of those organizations be read into the record?

Mr. MATTHEWS. The names of the nine organizations are:

American Law Students Association;  
 American Student Union;  
 American Youth Congress;  
 Association of Medical Students;  
 Chinese Students Association;  
 International Student Service;  
 National Intercollegiate Christian Council;  
 National Negro Congress;  
 National Student Federation of America.

The CHAIRMAN. In the absence of Mr. Dempsey, the committee goes back into a subcommittee with the chairman, Mr. Casey, and Mr. Thomas acting as a subcommittee.

Proceed.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. O'Dea, have you ever seen a copy of this bulletin?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask that this bulletin be marked as an exhibit. It is entitled "Bulletin No. 1, February, 1940. The Yanks Are Not Coming Committee."

**(Bulletin No. 1 was marked "Exhibit No. 5.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. "The Yanks Are Thinking," by Mike Quin is the leading article in the bulletin. This is published by District Council No. 2 of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific.

On the back of the folder is a song entitled "The Yanks Are Not Coming." Words by Mike Quin.

The witness identifies this as having been seen by him also.

The CHAIRMAN. For the sake of the record, the committee now has a quorum, and we are acting as a full committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. O'Dea, is the Young Communist League, or the members of the Young Communist League in Massachusetts, participating in this demonstration of students on April 19?

Mr. O'DEA. The Young Communist League is not participating in it. The members may participate in it as individuals as far as I know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has the question ever been taken up by your executive committee or board?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Isn't it to your knowledge, Mr. O'Dea, that this movement, known generally as "The Yanks Are Not Coming Committee," is the successor to the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. O'DEA. I had not realized that. I never put any too great attention in my mind, or emphasis on, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and it never was very important in Massachusetts, and I never heard very much about it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did have a branch of the American League for Peace and Democracy in Boston, did you not?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't know. All I know is that once I attempted in 1933, before I became a member of the Young Communist League, to organize one in my home town and we were going to get a speaker which was going to be Mr. Matthews, but for some reason he did not come, and we had someone else come.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that, in 1933?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. That is when you were in Amesbury High School, Mr. O'Dea?

Mr. O'DEA. That was right after I graduated.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. O'Dea, does the Young Communist League make it one of its principles that every member of the Young Communist League must join some mass organization and work in that organization as a member of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. We do not make it a principle. We do encourage people to join in order to be able to speak to young people about peace, and to discuss the problems that affect youth with them; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, do you not make it a rule, let us say, instead of a principle, that every member of the Young Communist League must belong to some non-Communist mass organization and work in that organization in the interest of the viewpoint of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you from page 2 of the document which you have identified as exhibit 2:

We must guarantee \* \* \* that every league member becomes a member of some mass organization.

Is that the policy of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. That was my personal policy. I mean that was my personal statement. It has never been adopted as a policy anywhere.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the purpose of having every league member become a member of some mass organization? Can you outline that briefly?

Mr. O'DEA. It was my personal statement. I made it because I thought that it would be a very good idea to be able to talk to young people about peace, and to talk to young people about the problems affecting young people, and to be able to help the young generally to reach a solution for these problems.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I quote from this same document, the following:

In many cases we can send more than one person or even several persons into an organization. Our less developed people can go into an organization with one or two more developed people, and by working closely with them, learn how to carry on such work.

You refer there, do you not, to the work of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. The work of speaking to youth and talking to them on the problems that affect them, yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you mean also to bring them under the influence of the viewpoint of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. To influence them to keep America out of war, to be able to discuss with them and arrive at common conclusions as to how to best solve the question of getting jobs, and let us not use the word "influence" as a fetish.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am using it here as you used it on page 3 of this same document.

The group should discuss the work of these comrades, referred to in the passage just read—

and help them to work out ways and means on influencing these organizations, of getting our ideas across in these organizations, without isolating our people and antagonizing the membership.

Did you write that statement?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes; that is right, to be able to discuss, you must remember that young people, you can't discuss with young people as you would give a sociological lecture. You must discuss the thing simply, try to arrive at a common understanding as to how these problems can be solved, presenting our own ideas and listening to their ideas.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Following the statement which I have just read, you say:

We can do these things in the campaigns that are to be made on "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and the American Youth Act.

Did you write that statement?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And again you mean that in the non-Communist youth organizations by working on these slogans and in support of these measures you hope to influence these organizations in such a way that the ideas of the Young Communist League will gain acceptance in these organizations?

Mr. O'DEA. Can I answer that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. Can I answer it? The campaigns I refer to are not "our campaigns," but the campaigns of the youth organizations, and we present our ideas in these campaigns as well as all other people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, did you do similar work in preparation for the Washington Institute of America Youth Congress in February?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, in February we tried to talk about it with people, tell them that it was a good idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the "Charlotte" referred to in your article prepared for the Review, on page 4?

Mr. O'DEA. A member of the Young Communist League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He refers to "Charlotte," "such as the one that Charlotte described."

What is Charlotte's last name?

Mr. O'DEA. For the same reason as before, I feel that I will not give her last name.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to give her last name, and you decline to do so, is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. For the reason I stated in the previous case.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, proceed.

Mr. CASEY. You know who she is?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You do know who she is?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is her first name Charlotte?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was this a second article prepared by you for possible publication in the Review?

Mr. O'DEA. May I look at it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Mr. O'DEA. That was a speech I was going to give but I never gave it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does much of your activity consist in writing articles that are not published, and preparing speeches that you do not deliver?

Mr. COHN. I object to the form of the question.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you often write speeches and articles that you do not publish or deliver?

Mr. O'DEA. I seldom write speeches, to tell you the truth. I usually speak without writing them and it so happens in those two cases that the speech was not given and that the article was not published, and I am not an accomplished writer.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is a 10-page typewritten draft without a title except at the top it is numbered "2" and I will ask that it be accepted as an exhibit for the record.

**(The document referred to was marked "Exhibit No. 6.")**

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you, Mr. O'Dea, conducted a campaign of education for the members of the Young Communist League by using the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. O'DEA. Somewhat.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many copies of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has the Young Communist League distributed in your jurisdiction?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't know, offhand.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would it be several hundred?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you have urged members of the Young Communist League to purchase and study individually and in groups the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Mr. O'DEA. I have. I consider that a very good sociological discourse.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You also consider it a guide, do you not, to the correct tactics for bringing about the Communist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship in other parts of the world?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't believe that I have to answer that question.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. If he does not consider the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a guide to correct tactics, in bringing about the Communist revolution and the proletarian dictatorship in other parts of the world.

The language which I use in the question has been employed by the Communist literature and speakers in many parts of the United States, and by Earl Browder himself when he appeared on the witness stand here, and I did not know that the witness would have any objection to answering the question.

Mr. COHN. The witness does have objection to the question. It calls for an opinion.

Mr. LYNCH. Let the witness make an objection. You can't make his objection for him.

Mr. COHN. I am objecting on behalf of the witness, whom I represent, to the question, as calling for his personal opinion.

Mr. LYNCH. He hasn't any right to object for the witness. Let the witness object for himself.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer that?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't see why I have to. It is a matter of opinion. If Mr. Browder has spoken to you on it, then you know what Mr.

Browder thinks of it. He is the most authoritative spokesman for the Communist Party.

MR. DEMPSEY. Do you agree with Mr. Browder?

MR. O'DEA. I don't know what he said, and I don't accept Mr. Matthews' interpretation. I want to see Mr. Browder's words.

MR. DEMPSEY. You have already stated for the record.

MR. O'DEA. I took that from Mr. Matthews' statement. I presume that that is right.

MR. DEMPSEY. You have stated it, whoever you have taken it from.

MR. O'DEA. I said, if he stated it.

MR. DEMPSEY. If he had stated it, do you agree with it?

MR. O'DEA. I want to see what he stated. That is a reasonable request.

MR. DEMPSEY. Would you agree with anything or everything that he agrees with?

MR. O'DEA. That is a ridiculous question.

MR. DEMPSEY. Sometimes it is necessary to ask ridiculous people ridiculous questions.

MR. O'DEA. Sometimes ridiculous people ask ridiculous questions.

MR. COHN. I object to this type of questions.

THE CHAIRMAN. The witness has no right to answer in any such manner, saying that it is a ridiculous question, and the witness can say whether he knows or whether he declines to answer, but certainly you, as counsel, know that an answer such as that is not proper.

MR. COHN. This kind of answer is brought about by these kinds of questions.

MR. LYNCH. I submit if counsel does not want to conduct himself properly and attempts to answer for the witness, he not be permitted to represent this witness.

MR. COHN. I object to any such kind of characterization.

THE CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed.

MR. LYNCH. I submit he should answer Mr. Dempsey's question, and should answer Dr. Matthews' question, and I will ask the Chair to direct him to answer both of them, and have the reporter read Mr. Dempsey's last question, and have him read Dr. Matthews' last question, and direct him to answer both of them.

MR. MATTHEWS. I should like to restate my question, Mr. Chairman.

Is the purpose in your using the "History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union" to teach the members of the Young Communist League correct tactics for the Communist revolution?

MR. O'DEA. The purpose is to learn the sociological laws of the historical development.

MR. MATTHEWS. That means the same thing, does it not?

MR. O'DEA. Not exactly.

THE CHAIRMAN. Then, the purpose is not what Dr. Matthews asked you?

MR. O'DEA. I don't think so; no.

THE CHAIRMAN. All right.

While you are waiting there I want to ask him a few questions. Do you belong to any other organization besides the Young Communist League and the Communist Party?

MR. O'DEA. No; I am personally a member of no other organization.

THE CHAIRMAN. You do not belong to any student organization?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Those are the only two organizations that you belong to?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You stated that you knew the names of 25 of the members of the Young Communist League in Harvard. You stated that?

Mr. O'DEA. Approximately, I think that I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state to the committee the names of those that you do know?

Mr. O'DEA. I refuse to state those names.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to do so and you decline to do so, is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. I decline for the reason that I stated.

The CHAIRMAN. In the event of war between the United States and Russia, would you support the United States?

Mr. COHN. I object to this question on the ground that it is hypothetical.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline to answer it?

Mr. O'DEA. I decline to answer it. I don't think it is at all a realistic question.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to say whether or not you will support this country in the event we were to enter war with Russia on the opposite side; is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. I decline to answer the question. It is a matter of opinion, and I don't see how I can have an opinion on hypothetical questions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. O'Dea, is it true that according to section 35 of the Rules of the Communist International, that the Young Communist League of the United States is a section of the Comintern?

Mr. O'DEA. I did not know that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you understand to be the relationship between the Young Communist League of the United States and the Comintern?

Mr. O'DEA. All I understand is that the Young Communist League has fraternal affiliations with the Young Communist International, which is the fraternal body of Young Communist Leagues in many countries.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the relationship to the Communist International?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I don't know of any. It has not affected me.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the Young Communist League of the United States ever send a delegate to the sessions of the Communist International?

Mr. O'DEA. I think that they have sent delegates to the sessions of the Young Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am speaking now of the Communist International.

Mr. O'DEA. I really don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have been a member of the Young Communist League 7 years?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Approximately?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you do not know whether or not the Young Communist League has representation in the gatherings of the Communist International?

Mr. O'DEA. I really don't know. I am interested more——

The CHAIRMAN. You answered the question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Gil Green?

Mr. O'DEA. I have met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then you know him, do you not?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I met him once or twice.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was Gil Green a delegate to the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International?

Mr. O'DEA. He may have been. I would not be surprised. I think he was a delegate to the Sixth World Congress of the Young Communist International.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Wasn't he also a delegate to the Seventh World Congress?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't remember these things very well. I am not interested in details of that kind, particularly. I am interested in historical material.

The CHAIRMAN. You have answered.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are the decisions and resolutions of the Communist International in any way binding upon the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are they considered as directives for the Young Communist League of the United States?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is there any relationship between the Young Communist League of the United States and the decisions and resolutions of the Communist International?

Mr. O'DEA. We study them as material, obtaining historical and sociological and political data.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever read the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International held in Moscow in August of 1935?

Mr. O'DEA. I have, but don't expect me to be able to repeat them.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not ask you that. He asked you whether you have ever studied them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have read those resolutions?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The resolution on war, passed unanimously by the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International declares, "The defense of the Soviet Union is considered paramount."

Do you recall that particular part of the resolutions of the Seventh World Congress?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't recall it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you subscribe to that view?

Mr. COHN. I respectfully object upon the ground that this is calling for the personal opinion of the witness.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am asking for his personal allegiance to the Soviet Union as outlined.

The CHAIRMAN. He can certainly answer "Yes" or "No."

Mr. O'DEA. I would want to see that full statement and context. It is a well-known fact that one cannot answer a question about a statement when the statement is out of the context and no person with intellectual integrity will attempt to answer a question of that kind. It is a matter of opinion, and I do not think that I have to answer.

Mr. CASEY. Do you consider the preservation of the soviet form of government of paramount importance to the Communists generally?

Mr. COHN. Mr. Chairman, I submit, too, that that is an objectionable question, on the same ground.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer the question?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes. I don't think that that is relevant.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Toni Taylor?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is Toni Taylor?

Mr. O'DEA. She is the associate editor of McCall's, a women's weekly, I think it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is that McCall's Magazine?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is a monthly, is it not?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And Toni Taylor is associate editor?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes. I am pretty sure of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What have been your connections with Toni Taylor during the past year, as secretary of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I took part in a discussion that was organized by the McCall's Magazine, in which Toni Taylor was the representative at the discussion, and it was more or less of an academic discussion, "Democracy and Religion," and was held at the College Club in Boston, and had all viewpoints represented.

I was invited to represent the viewpoint of the Young Communist League, not officially—no one officially there represented organizations, and no names were used in the write-up which appeared in one of the issues of McCall's written by Archibald MacLeish who attended the conference and no write-ups and no names appeared there, and it was not important who the people were but it was a question of the material, the historical material that was brought forward there.

I took part in that conference. I was called by Toni Taylor to come to talk to her and selected as one of the people to take part.

Secondly, a radio broadcast sponsored by McCall's in a part of a Nation-wide group of radio broadcasts, I think from eight leading cities. One was held in Boston, that was on the question of war, and I was also selected by Toni Taylor to take part in that. That was directed by Mr. Otis Wise, I think the editor of McCall's. That was my relationship.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you have correspondence with Toni Taylor thanking you for your participation in this conference in Boston?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not recall, but I believe so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know Miss Taylor before she became associate editor of McCall's Magazine?

Mr. O'DEA. I never knew Miss Taylor until one day she called me on the telephone.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the relationship between the Young Communist League in Massachusetts and the Massachusetts Youth Council?

Mr. O'DEA. The Massachusetts Youth Council is made up of, or is, an organization made up of fraternal affiliates of a large number of youth organizations, and we are affiliated to it. I am a member of the cabinet.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the chairman of the Massachusetts Youth Council?

Mr. O'DEA. Nathaniel Mills.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are a member of the cabinet?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it the purpose of the Young Communist League in Massachusetts to work for the adoption of its viewpoint in youth organizations, through the medium of the Massachusetts Youth Council?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I mean, I don't understand that question, because most youth organizations have cooperated with the Massachusetts Youth Council?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is the Massachusetts Youth Council affiliated with the American Youth Congress?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That concludes the questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. LYNCH. May I ask a few questions, Mr. O'Dea? Did you ever go out to Harvard and speak to the Harvard group of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. I never spoke at Harvard to them.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you speak to them?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, they attended, some of them at least, general meetings that I spoke to.

Mr. LYNCH. Where were those meetings being held?

Mr. O'DEA. In various halls that we would hire.

Mr. LYNCH. Where, for instance? Give me one?

Mr. O'DEA. We had meetings where I spoke in the Hotel Bradford and Symphony Hall.

Mr. LYNCH. And the Harvard group would be there?

Mr. O'DEA. I imagine so.

Mr. LYNCH. And you would speak then on the aims of the Young Communist League or the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DEA. I spoke on some current topic of the day, presenting what I consider the viewpoint of the Young Communist League.

Mr. LYNCH. Have any of those members of that Harvard group spoken at any of these meetings?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't think so. I am pretty sure that they have not.

Mr. LYNCH. Who else besides you compose the office headquarters of the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Will you repeat that question?

Mr. LYNCH. Who else is employed at the Young Communist League headquarters in Massachusetts besides yourself?

Mr. O'DEA. No one.

Mr. LYNCH. You are the entire works?

Mr. COHN. I object to the form of the question.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you secretary and director and everything else? Do you take care of the correspondence? Do you have a secretary or financial assistant?

Mr. O'DEA. One full-time worker is enough to handle those things in an organization of our size. I take care of it.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that the situation at your place?

Mr. O'DEA. I take care of them.

Mr. LYNCH. You take care of everything alone?

Mr. O'DEA. I wouldn't say everything. I take care of the things that you mentioned, correspondence.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you have any paid assistants?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you paid?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. How much?

Mr. O'DEA. \$12.50 a week.

Mr. LYNCH. That is paid out of the proceeds that you receive? It is paid out of the proceeds that you receive in dues; is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. Dues, and sometimes donations.

Mr. LYNCH. You keep records of the donations that you receive?

Mr. O'DEA. We give receipts to the people who issue them. I have not kept any records of the donations.

Mr. LYNCH. You do not keep a list of the persons that donate to the cause in your office?

Mr. O'DEA. No; it is not a question of regular donations.

Mr. LYNCH. Whether it is regular or irregular, do you keep a record of those persons who donate?

Mr. O'DEA. No; I do not.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, with regard to the persons who are members, they pay 10 cents or 25 cents for their dues, and it is necessary, of course, to know the number of members in the organization, is it not?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, you see, we have the same situation as all dues-paying organizations. One person, if you were a member, you might pay 5 months' dues this month, and then you would not pay for 5 months; and, on the other hand, you might be 5 months behind, so that that is not the best barometer.

Mr. LYNCH. So the way to determine whether the person who has paid 5 months in advance or 5 months in arrears, is to have a record of it?

Mr. O'DEA. No; he has stamps on his card.

Mr. LYNCH. And you have to have a record of the persons who have books, don't you, or cards?

Mr. O'DEA. We don't have a record of that.

Mr. LYNCH. How do you know who is a member? When a person comes in and pays, and a card has been issued to him?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I don't issue the cards.

Mr. LYNCH. Who issues them?

Mr. O'DEA. The branch president.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is the branch president?

Mr. O'DEA. What do you mean?

Mr. LYNCH. Who is the branch president?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, "whoever" depends on a particular branch, who is president of that branch.

Mr. LYNCH. What branches do you have there?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I named the places.

Mr. LYNCH. Can you give us the names of any of the branch presidents?

Mr. O'DEA. I refuse to give those names for the reason I stated when I refused to give other names.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what their names are?

Mr. O'DEA. Most of them.

The CHAIRMAN. And you decline to give the committee any of the names of any of the branch presidents that you know about?

Mr. O'DEA. For the reasons I stated before.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs the witness to answer the question and the witness declines to do so, is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. For the reasons stated before.

Mr. CASEY. How many branch leagues have the Young Communists in Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. Probably 25.

Mr. CASEY. You have one in Boston, and several in Greater Boston?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes; we have several in Boston and several in Greater Boston.

Mr. CASEY. And you have one in Worcester?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't recall any right now. It is published on a release but I don't recall right now.

Mr. CASEY. Do you have one in Springfield?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. Do you have any in the smaller cities and towns in central and western Massachusetts, any branches?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. CASEY. You think that you have about how many branches?

Mr. O'DEA. I think about 25.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you hold regular meetings of the league?

Mr. O'DEA. Branches all hold regular meetings.

Mr. LYNCH. How often are they held?

Mr. O'DEA. It varies with the branch. One a week, or 2 weeks, or 3 weeks.

Mr. LYNCH. In Boston the one that you are a member of, or have a direct connection with, how often do they hold their meetings?

Mr. O'DEA. About once every 2 weeks, approximately.

Mr. LYNCH. How often do you attend the meetings of the Communist Party in Boston?

Mr. O'DEA. Once every week or 2 weeks.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is the secretary or director of the Communist Party in Massachusetts and Boston?

Mr. O'DEA. The executive secretary is Mr. Frankfeld.

Mr. LYNCH. What is his address?

Mr. COHN. He is here.

Mr. LYNCH. After you were subpoenaed last Friday—did you get in touch with the New York headquarters, after you were subpoenaed last Friday to appear before this committee?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Who arranged for your counsel for you?

Mr. COHN. I object to that. It is a personal question.

Mr. LYNCH. The committee has got a right to show that it was furnished by someone other than himself.

Mr. COHN. I object to that question, upon the ground that any relations between client and attorney are privileged.

Mr. CASEY. That is strictly the client's privilege, however, Mr. Cohn, not yours.

Mr. O'DEA. I object to it. I think that that does not come within the sphere of operations of this committee.

Mr. LYNCH. I am not asking him to disclose anything except to show that the attorney is the same attorney that has appeared for other persons who admittedly are members of the Communist Party, and that the counsel was furnished by the Communist Party for him.

Mr. COHN. It does not happen to be the fact.

Mr. STARNES. I think the question is pertinent, and I think the witness ought to answer it.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course, the committee wants to accord full liberty and freedom for people who have counsel for them and not infringe upon the right of a person to have the benefit of counsel before the committee. The Chair is not absolutely clear about whether or not it would be proper to go into the question of the relationship between client and attorney.

Mr. LYNCH. I do not intend to do that. I will put the question in this way.

Was counsel secured for you by the Communist Party or the Young Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. Counsel was secured for me by a very good personal friend of mine.

Mr. LYNCH. That is not answering the question.

The CHAIRMAN. If it was secured by the Young Communist League or the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DEA. Mr. Frankfeld secured counsel for me.

Mr. LYNCH. What is his position, so that we will have it in the record?

Mr. Frankfeld, you say?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes; I answered his position before.

The CHAIRMAN. He said he was executive secretary of the Communist Party of Massachusetts.

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Where have you been employed, except your work in the Communist League?

Mr. O'DEA. I have had odd jobs.

Mr. LYNCH. Such as what?

Mr. O'DEA. I worked 4 months in an automobile factory, in the Ford factory, and I worked in small printing places a very short time, and worked in furniture factories, odd jobs, very difficult for a young man.

Mr. LYNCH. For how long a period of time, altogether, in the automobile and furniture factory, would you say that you were employed?

Mr. O'DEA. Maybe half a year.

Mr. LYNCH. Altogether?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. That is all.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I have one more question. In what other schools or universities in your jurisdiction are there branches of the Young Communist League? You mentioned Harvard.

Mr. O'DEA. Dartmouth and Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What others?

Mr. O'DEA. Massachusetts State, and we have a few members in Boston University.

Mr. CASEY. Are there any members in Holy Cross or Boston College?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't know right offhand. I don't think so.

MR. THOMAS. Are there any members in Amherst or Williams?

MR. O'DEA. Amherst, yes.

MR. THOMAS. You haven't any in Williams?

MR. O'DEA. No.

MR. MATTHEWS. Or in Radcliffe?

MR. O'DEA. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Of the 350 members of the Young Communist League, how many of them are college students?

MR. O'DEA. This is an approximation. Maybe 75 to 115, maybe in there.

MR. MATTHEWS. In how many colleges of New England are they distributed, approximately?

MR. O'DEA. Seven or eight, I would say.

MR. MATTHEWS. Mr. O'Dea, will you please identify this communication for us? This is marked with the numeral "3" at the top, addressed to "Dear Pat," and signed by the letter "P." Did you receive that communication?

MR. O'DEA. Yes.

MR. MATTHEWS. Who is "P"?

MR. O'DEA. A member of the Worcester branch.

MR. MATTHEWS. Does this letter refer to the delegation to the American Youth Congress in Washington?

MR. O'DEA. No; it refers to the delegation, to the fraternal delegate we send to the convention of the Communist Party.

MR. MATTHEWS. Which convention of the Communist Party?

MR. O'DEA. This one that we just held this week-end in Boston.

MR. MATTHEWS. The Young Communist League did send a fraternal delegate to the Communist Party Convention of the State of Massachusetts in Boston?

MR. O'DEA. We call them fraternal delegates. They were considered visitors by the convention.

**(The document was marked "Exhibit No. 7.")**

MR. MATTHEWS. The notation in this letter is "Her book number is H-224."

Is "P" the secretary of the Worcester Young Communist League or the president of the Worcester Young Communist League?

MR. O'DEA. President, I think.

MR. MATTHEWS. The letter "P" is given as the author of this letter, and he describes "P" as the president of the Worcester Branch of the Young Communist League. I have not asked him for further details about "P's" name.

MR. O'DEA. I decline to give that name.

THE CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs the witness to answer the question, and the witness declines to do so.

MR. O'DEA. For the same reason as stated before.

MR. MATTHEWS. Why would you be notified of the book number of the fraternal delegate of the Young Communist League to the convention of the Communist Party?

MR. O'DEA. I don't know. It was the only case where any letter like that came in.

MR. MATTHEWS. Does not the writer of this letter—you are to assume that you will be able to identify the delegate by knowing the book number of the delegate?

MR. O'DEA. I imagine that is what he assumes; I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The president of one of your own branches assumes that you do have some record in your headquarters as to the book numbers and names; is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. Then why would he write a letter and merely refer to the book number, if he did not think that you had the number of the book?

Mr. O'DEA. Because he was invited to send one visitor, and he was assuring me that several were not coming from Worcester.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why would he want to mention——

Mr. O'DEA. So I would know that that was the right visitor and some other one was not going in instead, I suppose. I did not write the letter. I am just giving you my interpretation of it at the moment.

Mr. CASEY. Is St. Joseph's School a parochial school?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. That is a grade school?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. You went 4 years to high school at Amesbury?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Was it while you were at high school that you became interested in the ideals of communism?

Mr. O'DEA. In my junior year I became very interested in economics and sociology and began to read Socialist and Communist literature; that is right.

Mr. CASEY. Were you ever contacted or did you ever contact while you were in Amesbury High School, any Communist with respect to your readings on communism?

Mr. O'DEA. No; I became a member of the Socialist Party.

Mr. CASEY. While you were a student at Amesbury High School?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right. I took part in a debate, in my senior year in high school before the whole school auditorium on that question, and it was a debate that was sanctioned by the school authorities.

Mr. CASEY. After you got out of high school, you said that you were out of work a year?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And then you went to Wentworth?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. That is a technical school?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Does that school charge any tuition?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And the course you took there was a 2-year course?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. In printing?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And you completed that course?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And you got a degree as a printer?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, you don't get a degree.

Mr. CASEY. But you completed your work there?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever join any unions after you became a printer, after you graduated from Wentworth?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. CASEY. After you became a printer, you acquired the trade of printer, did you ever make any attempt to obtain positions as a printer?

Mr. O'DEA. I combed most print shops in Boston, and I think Boston has more than any city of its size in the country, and I succeeded in getting in a couple of small places for a short time, and that is all. It is very difficult. One does not get sufficient skill in 2 years to be prepared for a very high-paid job.

Mr. CASEY. You have to serve as a sort of apprentice in addition to what you learn at school?

Mr. O'DEA. The school is not recognized as an apprenticeship.

Mr. CASEY. You live at 295 Huntington Avenue?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. Is that near Wentworth?

Mr. O'DEA. It is not far.

Mr. CASEY. Did you take up your residence there when you were going to Wentworth?

Mr. O'DEA. I did not live there when I was going. I lived at various streets around that section.

Mr. CASEY. Is that a hotel or rooming house?

Mr. O'DEA. It is an apartment house.

Mr. CASEY. You live there alone, do you?

Mr. O'DEA. I live with my wife.

Mr. CASEY. Now, the phrase "The Yanks Are Not Coming" is a part of a movement for peace, for keeping America out of foreign entanglements?

Mr. O'DEA. It is part of a general movement, and I think that we have as much right to use the slogan as anybody else. It is public property.

The CHAIRMAN. I understood that you were the one that coined the phrase?

Mr. O'DEA. Me? Oh, no.

Mr. CASEY. Do you believe that the popular opinion of America is for keeping out of war?

Mr. O'DEA. I do. I think that that has been tested in some polls; that also would prove that.

Mr. CASEY. Do you believe that the Communist Party has adopted slogans like "The Yanks Are Not Coming" and peace movements in general, in order to capitalize upon that popular opinion?

Mr. O'DEA. No; I think that you will see that the Communist Party, if you read its material over a whole period of its existence, has always been a peace party, always been interested in peace. I think that you will find that very true.

The CHAIRMAN. You opposed the Budget, as I believe, in these pamphlets, President Roosevelt's Budget for war preparation, didn't you?

Mr. O'DEA. We oppose the cut in social measures.

The CHAIRMAN. I am talking about the Budget.

Mr. O'DEA. We oppose the huge expenditure for armaments which many people feel are more than adequate for defense at the expense of the cutting of the social measures which affect the welfare and the lives of the people.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you oppose the large budget that the Soviet Union has recently put forward to increase her war preparations?

Mr. O'DEA. I am a citizen of the United States, born in the United States, and do not interfere in the Soviet.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no opinion in reference to the budget?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't think it is relevant here.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any opinion about it, whether you approve or disapprove of it?

Mr. O'DEA. I have not seen the budget, Mr. Chairman, I don't know, and I don't give opinions on one-sentence statements. I believe in reading and studying something before I give an opinion on it, and I think that is the only way one can give an opinion on it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are opposing the Budget of the United States for preparation and naturally I wanted to find out if you opposed the \$11,000,000,000 budget of the Soviet Union for additional wartime preparations.

Mr. CASEY. As a citizen of the United States, do you consider your primary, your exclusive allegiance to the United States?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes; of course.

Mr. CASEY. You do not consider you owe any allegiance to the Soviet Government?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. CASEY. Do you subscribe to the phrase read by Mr. Matthews, in one of the pamphlets, describing Mannerheim as an imperialistic butcher?

Mr. O'DEA. I think that that is a good phrase. I think that that is a very good phrase.

Mr. CASEY. You do not think that that would apply to Mr. Stalin?

Mr. O'DEA. It is a question of opinion. I am giving you my personal opinion. I certainly do not.

Mr. CASEY. Now——

Mr. O'DEA. I think it applies to Mr. Chamberlain, though.

Mr. CASEY. I understand that you have done a great deal of reading, and given a great deal of independent thought to socialism and communism; is that right?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right.

Mr. CASEY. Now, did you approve of the Soviet-German Pact?

Mr. O'DEA. I did.

Mr. CASEY. Did you approve of the Russian invasion of Poland?

Mr. O'DEA. Mr. Chairman, I think that all of these questions are matters of opinion, and I don't think that they are relevant to the investigation of the committee, and I don't see any reason for going on answering them.

Mr. CASEY. Let me frame it another way. Do you consider Russia going into Poland an imperialistic war?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. CASEY. Against a weaker nation?

Mr. O'DEA. No; I do not.

Mr. CASEY. Do you approve of Russia's invasion of Finland?

Mr. O'DEA. Mr. Chairman, I repeat that I have answered to the best of my knowledge.

Mr. CASEY. If you do not want to answer it, all right.

Mr. O'DEA. These are matters of opinion, and I do not think that my opinion is so important that it merits the attention of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. CASEY. You have expressed all sorts of opinions in this pamphlet here, with respect to the Chamberlain and Daladier government, and so forth, and why have you a hesitancy about expressing an opinion with respect to the Russian Government's policies?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I think that the people to whom I was expressing them perhaps were interested in my opinions but I don't think that my opinions should be of great interest to the Congress of the United States, and it would waste too much of the taxpayers' money.

Mr. CASEY. You let us consider that, will you, Mr. Witness?

Mr. O'DEA. I think that as a citizen I should also consider it.

Mr. CASEY. Do you consider that Finland was an imperialistic government during the recent war?

Mr. O'DEA. It is a matter of opinion and I think the question is irrelevant.

Mr. CASEY. Do you have an opinion with respect to it?

Mr. O'DEA. I no doubt have.

Mr. CASEY. What is your opinion?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't think it is relevant here.

Mr. CASEY. You do not wish to vouchsafe your opinion?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you stated in answer to the question, that you owe allegiance to the United States, and then why, when you make that unqualified statement, do you hesitate to say whether or not you would support the United States if it went to war with Russia, or with Russia on the opposite side?

Mr. O'DEA. I think that that question is irrelevant and I refuse to answer any questions where I do not have a full context showing me what the question is, you can't answer intelligently one-sentence questions of that kind, that goes without saying. Anybody knows that who knows anything about answering questions.

Mr. LYNCH. You ought to direct him to answer that question.

Mr. O'DEA. It is a matter of opinion, and I don't have to answer it.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you say that you worked in the automotive business? How long was it that you stated that you worked in the automotive business?

Mr. O'DEA. I don't remember. I wasn't in the business. I was in the factory.

Mr. STARNES. How long did you work in the factory?

Mr. O'DEA. About 3 or 4 months.

Mr. STARNES. What section of the country were you working in?

Mr. O'DEA. In Somerville, Mass.

Mr. STARNES. That was the only experience that you had of that type and character?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I worked in a furniture factory for a brief time, and I don't remember exactly; you know these jobs come and go; you know how that is.

Mr. STARNES. Have you ever worked in any factories outside the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. No; I never worked outside of the State of Massachusetts.

Mr. STARNES. You have lived there and were born and reared there?

Mr. O'DEA. I was. I have lived there all of my life.

Mr. STARNES. You expressed an opinion a moment ago that the Communists had always been a peace party and had always advocated peace.

Mr. O'DEA. That is a matter of fact; that is not opinion.

Mr. STARNES. That is a matter of fact?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

Mr. STARNES. It was a matter of fact, then, that Communist intervention in the war in Spain—was that a peace measure?

Mr. O'DEA. I did not know that there was any Communist intervention in the war in Spain.

Mr. STARNES. Well, the Communist interest in Spain; was that in the interest of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. Communist interest in Spain certainly was in the interest of peace and democracy, as was the interest of all democratic-minded citizens.

Mr. STARNES. When the Communists of the United States, as well as the Communists in other sections of the world, recruited volunteers for service in Spain, was that in the interest of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. I did not know that they recruited volunteers for service in Spain.

Mr. STARNES. You did not know that Mr. Browder, the head of the party, stated that they had encouraged volunteers for service in Spain?

Mr. O'DEA. I do not recall any such thing. I know American boys went to Spain, and I know that they made a glorious contribution there to democracy throughout the world.

Mr. STARNES. You did not know that the Communist Party or its affiliates in this country had helped to finance the travel of these boys, American boys, to Spain?

Mr. O'DEA. I did not—first of all, I did not know the Communist Party had any affiliate, and in the second place I did not know that it had financed it, if it had.

Mr. STARNES. You did not know that it had any so-called communication belts or transmission belts in this country?

Mr. O'DEA. The only belts I know are the belts I worked on in the Ford factory.

Mr. STARNES. You do not know anything about the so-called "transmission belt" that Mr. Browder testified before this committee about; and I am using his terminology and not the committee's terminology.

Mr. O'DEA. I will say again the only belts I know about are the ones I worked on in the Ford factory.

I suppose that you would call them transmission belts.

Mr. STARNES. All right. The Communist Party, then, in your judgment, then, was acting in the interest of peace when it tried to get Chamberlain to go into Czechoslovakia for the defense of Czechoslovakia?

Mr. O'DEA. What Communist Party are you talking about?

Mr. STARNES. I am talking about the Communist International, and the Soviet Union. It is a matter of history and a matter of record that they urged Chamberlain.

Mr. O'DEA. The Soviet Union was willing to defend Czechoslovakia, and France broke her pledge and Chamberlain refused to defend Czechoslovakia, which is one of the reasons that proves that today he is not defending democracy.

Mr. STARNES. Is it not a fact that the Soviet Union urged Chamberlain to go in there and said that they were ready to keep their commitments if he would? Now, is that not true?

Mr. O'DEA. That is right, and that was in the interest of peace, and if that had been done there would be no war today. We would not have to be worried about "The Yanks Are Not Coming."

Mr. STARNES. So, whenever the Soviet Union urges other nations to go to war—

Mr. O'DEA. The Soviet Union was willing to defend Czechoslovakia herself. It was France that broke that pledge, and this is a matter of historical knowledge and I don't see why we have to discuss history here. This is not a history class.

Mr. STARNES. What I want to get from you, is the statement—

Mr. O'DEA. That was in the interest of peace, if that is what you want to get. That is not only my opinion, it is the opinion of many leading spokesmen throughout the world.

Mr. STARNES. When the Soviet Union then urges any other nation to go to war, or to use armed measures, or when itself it resorts to arms, or force of arms, it does so in the interest of peace, is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. That question is a hypothetical question. The Soviet Union did not urge other countries to go to war. It urged the protection of Czechoslovakia, which would have prevented the outbreak of war. That also has been attested to by many leading people everywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. STARNES. Were the Soviet Union's efforts in the Far East in its clashes with Japan in which lives were lost, was that in the interest of peace?

Mr. O'DEA. The Soviet Union defended its own borders and prevented the starting of war against itself by Japan and certainly it was in the interests of peace and the help of the Soviet Union to China is also in the interest of peace, and I think you will find also a majority of the American people will agree with that.

Mr. STARNES. You believe that the majority of the American people approve of the Soviet Union's peaceful efforts in supporting China, in the present war?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, most people I have met have. I don't see any need, Mr. Chairman, of continuing this. I repeat that I don't think my opinions warrant the attention of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. CASEY. Let us bring it up to date.

Mr. O'DEA. I don't see any reason for continuing. My opinions are not so important.

Mr. STARNES. You have had your say. Do you consider the present war budget for the Navy and the Army in this country in the interest of peace, or war?

Mr. O'DEA. I am not going to answer those questions. They are matters of opinion, and they are irrelevant, and I am not going to answer them.

Mr. STARNES. On what ground, then, do you base your objections to the present budgets for the War Department and Navy Department?

Mr. O'DEA. Those are also matters of opinion.

Mr. STARNES. It is not a matter of opinion.

Mr. O'DEA. It is an opinion, if I base my opinions on——

Mr. STARNES. Can you not make statements without having to express an opinion? I am not asking for your opinion, because I do not give a hang about your opinion about it.

Mr. O'DEA. I wish that you would stop asking for it, then.

Mr. STARNES. I want to know what are the reasons that you assign, as a citizen of this country, for opposing the recommendations of the President of the United States for the War and Navy budgets this year?

Mr. O'DEA. As a citizen of this country I have the right to be for or against any piece of legislation that comes up before the Congress of the United States, and I do not have to answer to this committee, or any other committee, for it, and that is my answer to you, Mr. Representative.

The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions, gentlemen?

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever paid any real-estate taxes in the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. My father has for a long time. I don't own any property.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever paid any Federal income tax?

Mr. O'DEA. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you ever paid any State taxes in the State of Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. I never made enough money. My father has paid all of those for years.

Mr. LYNCH. Is your father a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. O'DEA. He is not.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have an executive committee of the Young Communist League for Massachusetts?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they control your actions?

Mr. O'DEA. No; what do you mean by "control my actions?"

The CHAIRMAN. I mean, are they the official board to whom you report, and who have control over the policies of the organization?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You make your reports to them?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You have regular meetings of the executive board?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members of the board do you have?

Mr. O'DEA. About 10.

The CHAIRMAN. Ten members of the board?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know who they are?

Mr. O'DEA. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state to the committee who the members of the board are?

Mr. O'DEA. I refuse for the reasons stated before.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair directs you to answer that question and you decline to do so; is that correct?

Mr. O'DEA. The giving of these people's names will result in their economic persecution and I am not going to be a party to that.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you decline?

Mr. O'DEA. I decline to answer that on my constitutional rights.  
The CHAIRMAN. Any other questions of the witness?

Mr. CASEY. Do you consider Harvard College would deprive a boy of scholarship because during his youthful period of studentship at the college he was a Communist?

Mr. O'DEA. Well, I would say that there might be a possibility of it. I am not stating any opinion on that either without considering it more carefully.

The CHAIRMAN. You have answered the question.

Are there any other questions, gentlemen?

There are other witnesses here from Boston, but the committee will want to meet in the morning and conclude this.

The committee will stand adjourned until 10:30 tomorrow morning, at which time we will hear two more witnesses from Boston, and these witnesses, Mr. Frankfeld and Miss Burlak, will remain in Washington, and be in this chamber tomorrow at 10:30.

(Whereupon, at 12:15 p. m., an adjournment was taken until 10:30 a. m., tomorrow, Thursday, April 4, 1940.)



# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

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THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SPECIAL COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

A hearing of the Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities convened at 10:30 o'clock, a. m., in the Caucus Room of the House Office Building, Washington, D. C., the Hon. Martin Dies, chairman, presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair appoints a subcommittee composed of the Chair, Mr. Voorhis of California, and Mr. Starnes of Alabama, and Mr. Thomas of New Jersey until a full quorum appears.

## STATEMENT OF RICHARD H. LAWRY, OF PITTSBURGH, PA.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Lawry, will you please raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

MR. LAWRY. I do.

THE CHAIRMAN. You gave your name the other day. It is Richard H. Lawry, and you are the same gentleman who appeared before the committee a few days ago?

MR. LAWRY. Yes; voluntarily.

THE CHAIRMAN. I just asked you that for the sake of the record. Mr. Barker, will you proceed with the questions?

MR. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, what is your residence address?

MR. LAWRY. I reside now with my daughter at 213 West Eighth Avenue, West Homestead, Pa.

MR. BARKER. And what is your occupation?

MR. LAWRY. My occupation was, up until I was suspended, supervisor of the thirty-fourth district of the Census.

THE CHAIRMAN. A quorum of the committee being present, composed of Mr. Voorhis, the Chairman, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Starnes, the committee is composed of a full committee, with a quorum present.

MR. BARKER. Prior to that time, what was your occupation, Mr. Lawry?

MR. LAWRY. I was the district President of the International Workers Order of Western Pennsylvania.

MR. BARKER. And you are still the district president of the International Workers Order?

Mr. LAWRY. Nominally so, because I was elected at the convention, even though I sent in my resignation in about October or November it could not be accepted until the next convention.

Mr. BARKER. Until next November?

Mr. LAWRY. Whenever they have their convention, I think the convention last year was in June, it is never at the same time, once a year they hold it.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, I believe that you stated on March 29 when you appeared here that you had spoken before several meetings of the Communist Party and other organizations in Pennsylvania?

Mr. LAWRY. Hundreds and hundreds of meetings in my 30 years of labor activities, of all kinds. Catholic, Protestant, Communist, Republican, and Democratic, and Socialist, and all kinds of organizations, Kiwanis and chambers of commerce.

Mr. BARKER. You stated that you spoke in an open meeting several years ago as president of the then Farmer-Labor Party at Carnegie Music Hall?

Mr. LAWRY. I think that they call it the Carnegie Library; this is on the north side in Pittsburgh.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Mr. Lawry, you know Ned Sparks, do you not?

Mr. LAWRY. I did know him.

Mr. BARKER. Ned Sparks is a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes; I believe he was the representative.

Mr. BARKER. He was in charge of that meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. It has been so long that I could not tell you; I would not know whether he was the chairman of the meeting or not; I do not know.

Mr. BARKER. That meeting was announced to the press, Mr. Lawry, as the first public meeting of the Communist Party for the western district of Pennsylvania.

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know; I could not tell you.

Mr. BARKER. And you were one of the principal speakers?

Mr. LAWRY. I was on the program; yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. You were on the program?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes, sir. I know there was quite a hubbub in the paper about it, and my picture appeared, and I got dozens of phone calls about my appearance there, but I went just the same.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, you know John L. Spivak?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not; I never saw him; I don't know the gentleman.

Mr. BARKER. Did your organization arrange for a meeting for him to speak in February of 1939 in the Lithuanian Citizens Society hall at 1725 Jane Street, on the south side of Pittsburgh?

Mr. LAWRY. I believe that that is correct.

Mr. BARKER. That is correct?

Mr. LAWRY. I believe that that is correct. I do not know the date, but I know that they arranged for a meeting there.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, Mr. Florent Rogers is president of that Lithuanian Society, is he not?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know; I never met the gentleman, and I do not know him by name.

Mr. BARKER. You have a member of the International Workers' Order by the name of John Laughlin?

Mr. LAWRY. I know a man by the name of John Laughlin; whether he is a member of the organization or not, I could not tell you.

Mr. BARKER. Did he have anything to do with the organization of this meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know; I could not tell you; I was not at the meeting.

Mr. BARKER. But it was under the auspices of your organization?

Mr. LAWRY. Well, we have 269 lodges of our organization in the Pittsburgh district, and I don't know what they do.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, are you aware that the Lithuanians refused permission for the use of the hall to hold that meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. I am. I signed the check for the \$10 and later canceled or stopped payment on the check 6 or 7 months afterward, when we could not get the check back. They never used the check.

Mr. BARKER. Did you know why they refused the use of their hall to hold that meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand that a man by the name of Sullivan had appeared there, a man who was a former investigator for this committee, and he made certain statements, representing himself, I understood, to be an F. B. I. agent, and scared them to the extent that they refused the use of the hall.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, did you hear any statement made that the reason why they refused the use of the hall was that the first knowledge that they had that the meeting was to be held under the auspices of the International Workers Order was just before the meeting started?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not; because we had a contract with them, signed contract.

Mr. BARKER. And on the back of that contract it specified that that meeting was not to be held—that is, that there would be no Communist literature or no Communist speeches made at that meeting.

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you that, of course.

Mr. BARKER. You saw the contract?

Mr. LAWRY. I remember seeing the contract.

Mr. BARKER. Did you not see the provision on the back of the contract?

Mr. LAWRY. I remember that they were supposed to get a permit or something.

Mr. BARKER. Well, there was Communist literature distributed at that meeting, was there not?

Mr. LAWRY. I understood the meeting was not held.

Mr. BARKER. The crowd assembled for the meeting, Mr. Lawry, if I can refresh your memory.

Mr. LAWRY. I was not there.

Mr. BARKER. You were not present?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly was not there.

Mr. BARKER. Did you hear any report that Communist literature was distributed?

Mr. LAWRY. No.

Mr. BARKER. The meeting was later held in the Russian Hall?

Mr. LAWRY. That is what I understand.

Mr. BARKER. This Mr. Sullivan that you speak of, do you know his full name?

Mr. LAWRY. I believe it is Edward Francis Sullivan, or Francis Edward Sullivan.

Mr. BARKER. Did he tell you that he was an F. B. I. agent?

Mr. LAWRY. Me? I never saw the man in my life. I do not know the man.

The CHAIRMAN. You were just repeating rumors that you heard?

Mr. LAWRY. Just what I have heard; that is right; I heard he was arrested the other day representing himself as an F. B. I. agent.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, do you know Carl Hacker?

Mr. LAWRY. I do, sir.

Mr. BARKER. Carl Hacker was or is still a Communist, is he not?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know; I could not tell you; I have not seen Mr. Hacker for 8 or 9 months; and as a matter of fact my wife died 6 months ago, and I am rather demoralized, and I started on my census job 4 months ago, and I have not been connected with these activities whatsoever, and I broke up my home, and I have been floating around from one child to the other child and trying to find myself, so that I have not been active in the work at all of that kind.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Mr. Hacker personally?

Mr. LAWRY. Oh, yes; I know Mr. Hacker personally.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Hacker was ousted by the Central Labor Union in Pittsburgh as president of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Alliance, an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, because he was a Communist, was he not?

Mr. LAWRY. He was, and reelected the other day by a 12-to-1 vote.

Mr. BARKER. He was reelected?

Mr. LAWRY. To some position.

Mr. BARKER. As business agent of the cooks' division?

Mr. LAWRY. By a 12-to-1 majority.

Mr. BARKER. He was ousted because he was a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. So I understood.

Mr. BARKER. Now, Carl Hacker's wife is Lily Hacker?

Mr. LAWRY. So I understand.

Mr. BARKER. She was a recreation assistant in the city welfare department?

Mr. LAWRY. She was.

Mr. BARKER. Is she a Communist, Mr. Lawry?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know; I never met the lady but a couple of times in my life.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, did you know that Lily Hacker was listed as a member of the literature committee of the Daily Worker and educational director of the Workers School in Pittsburgh in the teachers' unit?

Mr. LAWRY. Not being a Communist, I would not know.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, you sponsored the appointment of Lily Hacker to her position with the city of Pittsburgh as recreation assistant, did you not?

Mr. LAWRY. I understood that she either used my name or I signed as a recommender along with four or five others. That is the usual procedure, and I have signed thousands of recommendations in my public career. Anybody that comes to me, friends of mine, I sign their petition, or any people who ask for it.

Mr. BARKER. City of Pittsburgh showing the application of Lily Hacker to the position of recreation assistant, permanent, at a salary

of \$1,560, and you are given as Richard H. Lawry, as one of the recommenders, at 405 Eighth Avenue. That was your address at that time?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And Steve Bodnar is given as another sponsor.

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know him.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Dave Turets?

Mr. LAWRY. He is a prominent attorney in Pittsburgh.

Mr. BARKER. And Mr. Dave Turets' wife, Leah Turets, was at one time the secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy in Pittsburgh?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes; that is true, and a very lovely woman.

Mr. BARKER. You know, of course, that Mrs. Hacker had recently resigned her position with the city?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand that that is correct. I investigated afterward and found also that she stood among the first three, I believe, in the civil-service examination, so that she was very well qualified for the position.

The CHAIRMAN. Do I understand, Mr. Barker, that Mrs. Hacker was a member of the literature committee for the Daily Worker, the official organ of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARKER. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What evidence do you have of that?

Mr. BARKER. I have a page from a memorandum book that was taken from the files of Sak Levin, who was secretary of the Communist Workers' School in Pittsburgh, and that memorandum and files were seized by the district attorney of Allegheny County, Pa., on January 3, 1939, in a raid on the Communist Workers' School at 648 Grant Street, in Pittsburgh.

Mr. Lawry, you have been on rather intimate terms at times with Mr. Carl Hacker?

Mr. LAWRY. I have known Mr. Hacker personally for a good many years.

Mr. BARKER. Did you attend meetings in Pittsburgh in observance of Lenin day?

Mr. LAWRY. When?

Mr. BARKER. In 1935?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly did not.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, is this a picture of you and Mr. Hacker?

Mr. LAWRY. That is.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, I ask that this picture be introduced as exhibit 1 in the testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you ask him where was the picture taken?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly do not know. It was not taken at a Lenin meeting, I can tell you that.

Mr. BARKER. Was it not taken at a demonstration held in Pittsburgh at some demonstration there, do you recall?

Mr. LAWRY. Mr. Hacker was connected with me in the flood relief, and I was chairman of the flood relief in I believe the St. Patrick's Day flood, in Pittsburgh.

Mr. DEMPSEY. What do you mean, the St. Patrick's Day flood?

Mr. LAWRY. It happened on that day, and they call it that. It was a terrible flood, the whole section was flooded, and I happened to be

appointed the chairman, and we had hundreds and hundreds of people on those committees, and Mr. Hacker was one of those.

The CHAIRMAN. That is not answering the question. Do you recall having any picture taken with Mr. Hacker and if so where?

Mr. LAWRY. I saw him many times during the Thompson strikes in Pittsburgh, and Mr. Hacker was president of the union, and I worked with the A. F. of L. Hotel and Restaurant Workers' Union at every opportunity, and they called upon me.

The CHAIRMAN. That is still not answering my question.

Mr. LAWRY. I do not remember a picture being taken, I do not, but I never was at a Lenin memorial meeting.

Mr. BARKER. You were a member of the Pittsburgh chapter of the American League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LAWRY. Our organization was. Not personally, I was not.

Mr. BARKER. You were not a member?

Mr. LAWRY. Our organization was represented there in their conferences, and as a delegate was sent to the meetings and so on, and I do not know whether they had an official membership. I believe that I have contributed \$2 or \$3 during my lifetime, and got their magazine, and if that constitutes membership then I must have been a member, I do not know. I have given contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. BARKER. On November 26 and 27, 1937, Mr. Lawry, the People's Congress for Peace and Democracy sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism, held a convention in Pittsburgh, Pa., under the chairmanship of Dr. Harry F. Ward, in Duquesne Gardens, and later in Motor Square Gardens, and you were on a committee at that meeting, were you not?

Mr. LAWRY. I may have been, I do not know. They may have used my name for a committee, I remember being there at both sessions, in Duquesne Gardens and the Motor Square Gardens, sitting almost clean in the rear, and I did not participate in any way, shape, or form in the congress as such.

Mr. BARKER. You do not know whether or not you were a member of the committee?

Mr. LAWRY. They used my name on almost every committee for progressive action in the Pittsburgh district. They would call me up on the phone and I would say, "Go ahead and use it."

Mr. THOMAS. What sort of a meeting was that, Mr. Barker?

Mr. BARKER. This was the People's Congress for Peace and Democracy, sponsored by the American League Against War and Fascism.

Mr. THOMAS. This was an organization that you called a progressive organization?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly would call the League for Peace and Democracy a progressive organization.

Mr. BARKER. How about the Communist Party, do you call that a progressive organization?

Mr. LAWRY. Not being one, I am not interested. I do not know anything about the Communist Party.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You say that you are not interested in the League for Peace and Democracy?

Mr. LAWRY. I have been elected for 18 years of public life, and I participated in activities for 30 years, long before there was a Com-

munist Party, and I am doing the same thing today as I did 30 years ago.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You have no opinion as to whether the Communist Party is a progressive organization?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know anything about their philosophy.

Mr. BARKER. You have testified that you spoke frequently at Communist Party meetings?

Mr. LAWRY. Oh, no; I did not. I never was involved in a closed Communist Party meeting; I think that I told you I spoke a couple of times, once in particular, at the North Side Carnegie Music Hall.

Mr. BARKER. That was the first open meeting of the Communist Party for the western district of Pennsylvania.

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know; I could not tell you that.

Mr. BARKER. Do you not know that that was announced in the press?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know whether it was the first meeting, I was burgess in West Homestead, the chief executive officer of the town, and they asked me to go and I went there, and I spoke.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Chairman, here is the previous testimony of this witness on March 29, on page 65:

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lawry, you said that you had spoken on numerous occasions for unemployment councils?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes; I have spoken thousands of times before practically every kind of organization, Republican, Democratic, Socialist, unemployed, for 30 years I have been in the progressive labor movement.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You did not know at the time you spoke that they were auxiliary organizations of the Communist Party, did you?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly did not.

Now, you said, "For 30 years I have been in the progressive labor movement." Were you speaking of the Communist Party there, Mr. Lawry?

Mr. LAWRY. For 30 years I have been in the progressive and labor movement.

Mr. BARKER. You seem to run the two all together here. You said that you had been speaking before every kind of organization, including the Communist Party.

Mr. LAWRY. I told you that I had spoken to my knowledge a couple of times, once that I was specific about, I remember in the Carnegie Music Hall on the north side of Pittsburgh, because I know at least 30 or 40 of my friends in public life, judges and lawyers, called me up and said, "Lawry, do not attend that meeting." But I went anyway, and I went to the meeting, and, of course, there was a lot of publicity about it in the papers, and my picture and one thing and another was taken, and I spoke, and I did not care what they were as long as they were open meetings, and other people were on the program.

But nobody ever involved me in any sectarian activities of any particular group; I was not involved.

Mr. BARKER. Ben Careathers is a Communist in Pennsylvania, is he not?

Mr. LAWRY. He is.

Mr. BARKER. Is he a candidate for the United States Senate on the Communist Party ticket?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you that.

Mr. BARKER. Well, Joseph Chandler is a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand so.

Mr. BARKER. And George Powers is a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I understand so.

Mr. BARKER. O. M. Jorstad is a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you that.

Mr. BARKER. Carl Hacker, I believe you identified as a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. And R. Norman McKibben is a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you that, he never told me, so I would not know.

Mr. BARKER. He has been a candidate for office in Pennsylvania on the Communist ticket?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know that.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, those men that you identified as Communists—George Powers and Carl Hacker and Ben Careathers—appear as members of the school board of the Pittsburgh Workers School in Pittsburgh, and your name appears there as a director along with them.

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know. I never authorized my name to be used as any director of any workers' school to my knowledge.

Mr. BARKER. Did you ever go to the Workers School?

Mr. LAWRY. Never did I attend a session of the Workers School, and the man who said it lied, he lies, and I wired that Post Gazette a \$2.80 telegram, but they would not publish it the day that was published, the day that that was published in the papers, and I do not know this man who is a newspaper reporter, and when he said that he is a liar.

Mr. BARKER. You know Fred Abbott, alias Fred Abbott Berkowitz?

Mr. LAWRY. I have met the gentleman.

Mr. BARKER. He was a director of the Communist Workers School in Pittsburgh?

Mr. LAWRY. I so read it in the papers.

Mr. BARKER. Did you know that they were using your name, Mr. Lawry, as a director of that school?

Mr. LAWRY. I did not; I certainly did not. I have never seen any of their literature, so if they used my name they used it without my permission.

Mr. BARKER. What was the predecessor school for the Communist Workers School in Pittsburgh, Mr. Lawry?

Mr. LAWRY. I would not know.

Mr. BARKER. It was known as the Pittsburgh Labor School, was it not, Mr. Lawry?

Mr. LAWRY. I believe that years ago there was an attempt to organize a Pittsburgh labor school, and whether or not it was organized I do not know.

Mr. BARKER. Here is a letter dated November 16, 1936, signed by Fred Abbott, with the school board on here, and your name appears, is that right, Mr. Lawry?

Mr. LAWRY. That is not the workers school there, is it? That is the Pittsburgh Labor School in 1936, my name is on there.

Mr. BARKER. And Fred Abbott Berkowitz who signed that letter is a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. So it is stated in the papers, he never told me.

Mr. BARKER. The address of that school, Mr. Lawry, is 607 Bigelow Boulevard.

Mr. LAWRY. That is correct.

Mr. BARKER. And also listed on here are George Powers, Carl Hacker, and Ben Careathers.

Mr. LAWRY. Along with a good many other names.

Mr. BARKER. And Ned Sparks.

Mr. LAWRY. And Key Swann. He is a newspaperman, and I would not think that he was a Communist from his conversations with me.

Mr. BARKER. The address at 607 Bigelow Boulevard, Mr. Lawry, was the headquarters for the Communist Party in Pittsburgh at that time, was it?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know; I could not tell you.

Mr. BARKER. There also appears on this list Mr. B. K. Gebert. He is a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, is he not?

Mr. LAWRY. I would not know. I know he was president of the fraternal orders committee which I participated in, I think, in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know him as a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You never heard he was a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. There were 578,000 people represented in all of these various organizations in support of the organization of the C. I. O. steel workers' organizing committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I am speaking about this particular man; you never knew him as a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. No.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, here is an announcement of the meeting—the Lenin memorial meeting—to be held in Duquesne Gardens, on January 23, 1938. Do you recall attending that meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. No, sir; I certainly did not.

Mr. BARKER. That announcement states: "America's Road to Peace. Speaker: Phil Frankfeld, organizer, the Communist Party of New England. The Need for Labor Unity. Speaker: Carl Hacker. Admission with this ticket, 20 cents. Auspices, Communist Party of Pittsburgh," and the address on the back of that is 607 Bigelow Boulevard, is it not, Mr. Lawry?

Mr. LAWRY. That is what it looks like to me.

Mr. BARKER. That is 607 Bigelow Boulevard?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, do you not know whether or not Norman McCubbin is a Communist, do you?

Mr. LAWRY. No.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, you are president of the League for the Protection of Minority Rights in Pittsburgh?

Mr. LAWRY. That is correct.

Mr. BARKER. They publish a publication called "Appeal to Reason"?

Mr. LAWRY. That is correct; they did.

Mr. BARKER. Do they any more?

Mr. LAWRY. I have not seen it for probably 6 or 7 months.

Mr. BARKER. And Benjamin H. Rosen is given as the executive secretary. Do you know him?

Mr. LAWRY. I met him once; he is a little attorney there in Pittsburgh—an attorney at law.

Mr. BARKER. Is he a Communist?

Mr. LAWRY. I am sure that he is not; I am very sure that he is not.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, you attended the meeting given for Rockwell Kent on Tuesday, April 11, 1939, sponsored by the American League for Peace and Democracy, in the Webster Hall Hotel, at Pittsburgh, did you not?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly did not.

Mr. BARKER. You did not attend that meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. No, sir; I did not; I do not know Mr. Kent. I have heard of him, but I never met him, and I never saw him, to my knowledge.

Mr. BARKER. The directors of the Carnegie Library denied him the use of that hall on account of his being a Communist, did they?

Mr. LAWRY. I so read in the newspapers.

Mr. BARKER. And you were not present at that meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. No, sir; I was not present.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, did you attend a meeting on April 29, in Pittsburgh, at the North Side Carnegie Hall, to hear W. Z. Foster speak?

Mr. LAWRY. I have not heard Mr. Foster speak since 1919, when they were organizing the A. F. of L. steel drive.

Mr. BARKER. Now, the International Workers' Order, of which you are the district president in the Pittsburgh area, has a fife-and-drum corps, Mr. Lawry, do you recall that?

Mr. LAWRY. A bugle-and-drum corps. We have 11 of them in the Pittsburgh district.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know that they furnished the music for that Communist meeting that night?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not; I do not.

Mr. BARKER. Was it with your sanction?

Mr. LAWRY. I was not there, and I certainly would not sanction it had I known anything about it. If they did participate, I do not know.

Mr. BARKER. Who is Mr. Smith of the W. P. A., that is the leader of this drum-and-bugle corps?

Mr. LAWRY. I only know Mr. Smith as the director of a drum-and-bugle corps from the W. P. A.; I do not know who he is. He is an American Legion boy. He was in the employ of the W. P. A.

Mr. BARKER. That is what I understand, he is in the employ of the W. P. A.

Now, this drum-and-bugle corps of the International Workers Order, Mr. Lawry, is known as the Russian section of the drum corps of the International Workers' Order, is it not?

Mr. LAWRY. Well, possibly it is known that way, I do not know, I could not tell you that. I am not handling the junior activities, so I do not know.

Mr. BARKER. But you are the district president of the International Workers' Order?

Mr. LAWRY. That is correct.

Mr. BARKER. And as such you had knowledge that this was going on, did you not?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know what is going on in the 269 branches I would like to have it understood that I am just the nominal head of it, and all I do is go out and speak at membership meetings in an

effort to gain membership in a fraternal benefit society that pays sick and death benefits, that is my job. I do not participate in lodge activities. I never visit any lodges, or very, very rarely, if they have some trouble, I might be called in, or if they have a big meeting I go to the meeting.

Mr. BARKER. I believe that you testified that you were not a Communist and had never been?

Mr. LAWRY. I am not now or never have been a Communist.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, did you attend a meeting of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade on April 12, 1939?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you, unless you would place the meeting, and tell me where it was.

Mr. BARKER. I will tell you that. It was at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Mike Durso, at 1306 LaClare Street, at Swissvale, Pa.

Mr. LAWRY. I believe that I dropped in at that meeting, and I sat on the front porch and left very shortly, the meeting was just about over when I got there, maybe at 10:30 or 11 o'clock.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know that you made the collection speech that night, at that meeting, and they took up a collection?

Mr. LAWRY. That is true: I got there late, and they called upon me, and I sat on the porch during the meeting, and then they called on me and I left shortly after that.

Mr. BARKER. And they got \$62 that night?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know what they got.

Mr. BARKER. You made a contribution yourself, did you not?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you that; I guess I did. I always make contributions when I have the money.

Mr. BARKER. That is a meeting of the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. Now, present at that meeting was Dr. Valinski, the local chairman of the local League for Peace and Democracy.

Mr. LAWRY. I do not remember; I know that there are tens of thousands of people that know me, and I know them, and I cannot remember. I am at meetings every day and every night.

Mr. BARKER. And a Mr. Prince, an organizer for the Office Workers Union?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know the man.

Mr. BARKER. Do you remember anybody that was present at that meeting?

Mr. LAWRY. I remember that I was present.

Mr. BARKER. Do you remember Mr. Larimer A. Myer of Frank & Seder Department Store, as being present?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know the gentleman.

Mr. BARKER. Well, you were introduced to the people there.

Mr. LAWRY. Listen, I am introduced to thousands of people, I am a handshaker, I have been elected for 18 years of public life, and I have received 30,000 votes in the last election, many more votes than many Congressmen got that are sitting down here.

Mr. BARKER. In other words, the Communist Party just comes along, and you shake hands with them and go around with them?

Mr. LAWRY. Anybody and everybody; yes. I like to make friends.

Mr. BARKER. Do you solicit their support at these elections at which you have been elected with tremendous majorities that you speak of?

Mr. LAWRY. In the last election I got 30,000 votes, and I never made a speech and never asked anybody to vote for me. My wife

had died, and I was unable to participate in the campaign, and yet I got 30,000 votes. I made speeches for Congressman Allen, and speeches for Congressman Dunn, and for practically every judge sitting on the bench in the Republican and Democratic parties, and I have been in public life for all of these years.

Mr. DEMPSEY. You mean you make them for both sides?

Mr. LAWRY. I have in my past life; at one time there was no such thing as Democrats in Pittsburgh, and I was a Republican up to that time, and it was good policy to be a Democrat in 1932 and I changed over to be a Democrat.

Mr. DEMPSEY. That is quite understandable, sir.

Mr. LAWRY. I was Mr. Dunn's campaign manager, and he ran on the independent ticket, and was elected fortunately with the votes of the independents that year; he did not get enough on the Democratic ticket, and Judge Ellenbogen I also worked for in that election campaign.

Mr. THOMAS. And now that the tide is swinging the other way, you will probably swing back the other way with it?

Mr. LAWRY. I will probably swing back if they get the majority. I have been known as a politician, but never as a faker.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us proceed, we have some further witnesses here.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, your picture appeared in the Fraternal News, issued by the International Workers Order, 68 Fifth Avenue, New York, did it not?

Mr. LAWRY. Oh, yes; I suppose dozens of times.

Mr. BARKER. What is the purpose of this organization known as the League for the Protection of Minority Rights?

Mr. LAWRY. To fight against anti-Semitism, to fight against oppression of the alien-born citizens, all alien-born here in the United States, an organization which I believe has done a very, very good job, and I am very proud to be the nominal head, although I was just the nominal head.

Mr. STARNES. You are not interested in all minorities?

Mr. LAWRY. All minorities; yes. That is regardless of race or color or creed or political affiliation.

Mr. STARNES. Or regardless of whether or not they were property holders?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not care what they are, if they are human beings.

Mr. STARNES. You would defend the chambers of commerce?

Mr. LAWRY. I belong to the chamber of commerce, and the Kiwanis Club, the Eagles, the Owls, the Moose—I am a joiner; I belong to all of them.

Mr. STARNES. You are a professional joiner, then?

Mr. LAWRY. That is right; the votes in the ballot box is what counts.

Mr. BARKER. You did not happen to join the Communist Party, did you?

Mr. LAWRY. No.

Mr. BARKER. How come you missed that?

Mr. LAWRY. I told you that I had no political ideology beyond the present day; and I pick up a newspaper, and whatever is of interest to the workers and masses, that is what I work for, and if it injures them I fight against it, and if it is for them I favor it.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, you attended the dedication of a room at the Pittsburgh Workers School in honor of Mother Bloor, of Philadelphia, Pa., did you not?

Mr. LAWRY. At the Workers School? No, sir; I did not.

I was never in the Workers School, and the man that says so lies.

Mr. BARKER. And you still do not know how come your name to be used as a member of the board of directors of this Pittsburgh labor school?

Mr. LAWRY. That was back in 1936, and I do not think that it ever went through. I think that I was asked, and was told that it was going to be a broad organization, and I told them that if that was the case, and they mentioned names to me of people who were going to be on the committee, and I said if that was the case they could use my name, and I cannot remember the circumstances.

Mr. BARKER. Where did they draw their students from for this Pittsburgh labor school?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you; I never attended them; I have no knowledge.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Fred Abbott, alias Fred Berkowitz, states here in this letter that the former executive committee of the workers school—that is, the Pittsburgh Communist Workers School—has kindly turned over to us the names and addresses of its former students. Do you know anything about that?

Mr. LAWRY. I certainly do not; I do not know anything about it.

Mr. BARKER. This Pittsburgh Labor School was just a front for the Communist Workers School, as a matter of fact, was it not?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know that it ever existed, beyond the statement that I am telling you—that I can remember distinctly that they came and asked me if they could use my name. If somebody called me on the telephone and told me that they were going to organize a labor school in Pittsburgh, and mentioned a lot of prominent people, I was careful enough whenever that happened that I saw that there were other people in public life connected with things before I appeared on public platforms or before I appeared in organizations.

Mr. BARKER. You did know that this Pittsburgh Labor School and the Communist Workers' School had the same address?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know any such thing; I told you that; I answered that question.

Mr. BARKER. They were located at 607 Bigelow Boulevard?

Mr. LAWRY. I did not know that; I answered that question before.

Mr. BARKER. That was the address of the Communist Party?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know that that was the case.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to know where all of this questioning is going to lead.

Mr. BARKER. I have just one or two more questions to ask.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us hurry, because we have got some more witnesses here.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Lawry, do you know that Max Bedacht is the general secretary of the International Workers' Order, of which you are the district president?

Mr. LAWRY. I do; I answered that before.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When Max Bedacht was a witness before this committee, he identified an article which he wrote for the Daily Worker, in

which article he stated the International Workers' Order is an organization that allows Communist leadership to drive its roots into the uncharted depths of the American working masses, where class consciousness has not yet penetrated. The building of the I. W. O. is therefore one of the most important tasks of the mass work of the Communist Party. Did you ever see that statement?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not remember ever seeing it; no.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you subscribe to that statement?

Mr. LAWRY. Me? I could not tell you without studying it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But you are the head of an organization whose general secretary states that as the purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. He said that he could not say whether he subscribed to it unless he studied it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I show you a pamphlet published by the International Workers' Order, Mr. Lawry; and have you ever seen that pamphlet?

Mr. LAWRY. I never did. That is in 1932; I did not join the International Workers' Order until about 1937, I think.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you any reason to know that the International Workers' Order has changed its leadership since 1932?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you not know that Max Bedacht has been the general secretary from that time down to the present?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you that; I do not know. He has been ever since I have been a member.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In this pamphlet of the International Workers' Order appears the following statement, on page 12:

The fight for the defense of the Soviet Union is not contained in the platform of the three capitalist parties, they are contained only in the platforms of the Communist Party.

And then again, on page 15 of this International Workers' Order pamphlet, appears the following statement:

The more vigorously we defend our common socialist fatherland, the better for the I. W. O. as a fraternal organization.

Do you subscribe to that?

Mr. LAWRY. I do not think because a member of the organization makes a statement that I necessarily have to be for it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This is not a member of the organization, this is an official pamphlet of the organization.

Mr. LAWRY. I would have to study it first before I could answer any questions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This has been identified, Mr. Chairman, as an official pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. He says that he cannot say whether he will subscribe to it unless he has an opportunity to study it.

Mr. LAWRY. I know, Mr. Chairman; if you please, I have a book here in my possession where 75 of the leading manufacturers of the country advertise in a Communist publication, and would you like to see it?

The CHAIRMAN. That is not pertinent here. Here is a question where the organization puts out a pamphlet and makes certain statements.

Mr. LAWRY. I would not say that these manufacturers subscribed to it.

The CHAIRMAN. You are the district representative of the organization, and as I understand your answer, it is that you are not prepared to say whether you agree with the statement of the organization or not unless you have an opportunity to study it.

Mr. LAWRY. That is right; and what I meant to get across was that these people do not necessarily subscribe to communism because they advertise in this book—people like the Morgan Engineering Co. and the Chase National Bank.

Mr. DEMPSEY. They are not members of the organization.

Mr. LAWRY. But they advertise in a Communist publication.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a case, as I have tried to point out to you, where you are the district representative, the district secretary, or the district president of the organization, and the organization has gone on record for certain things as an organization.

Mr. LAWRY. I do not believe that that is true. Our constitution is the thing that I should be guided by, and the constitution says that we take in people regardless of race, color, creed, or political affiliation, and we do not have anything to do with any individual statement, whether it be the president of the organization or the secretary, and I subscribe only to what is in the constitution, and that is what I am guided by.

Mr. THOMAS. For the sake of the record, I would like to have that pamphlet described that Mr. Matthews just referred to.

Mr. LAWRY. That is dated 1932.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to have the description of the pamphlet for the record.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It says:

We support the Communist candidate in this year's election, every member of the International Workers Order must rally behind the Communist election platform, issued by the campaign committee of the International Workers Order, August 1932.

Mr. LAWRY. Unless it would be an official action of a delegated convention body, nobody would have authority to commit the membership of that or any other organization.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Lawry, you had some 233 enumerators in your district, as district supervisor for the census, did you not?

Mr. LAWRY. I did not.

Mr. BARKER. Who appointed those people?

Mr. LAWRY. I could not tell you. I was suspended before the appointment of these folks, I was suspended I believe on the first day that they were to come in to school.

Mr. BARKER. I will ask that the witness step aside, we have another witness to hear.

I would like to have Mr. Johnson come around.

#### STATEMENT OF VINCENT JOHNSON, PITTSBURGH, PA.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. JOHNSON. I do.

Mr. BARKER. Your name is Vincent Johnson?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. BARKER. You are a reporter for the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette?

Mr. JOHNSON. That is right.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. Johnson, in 1938 you enrolled as a student in the Pittsburgh Communist Workers School?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. You did?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Did they know that you were a reporter at the time?

Mr. JOHNSON. They found out subsequently.

Mr. BARKER. They did?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Your paper subsequently published a series of articles written by you in regard to that school?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Do you know Mr. Richard H. Lawry?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Did you see him at the Pittsburgh Workers' School?

Mr. JOHNSON. Definitely.

Mr. BARKER. You did?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Do you remember one particular occasion when you saw him there?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; that was at the dedication of the Mother Bloor Room.

Mr. BARKER. Did he make a speech that night?

Mr. JOHNSON. No; he did not make a speech.

Mr. BARKER. Have you also covered other meetings in outlying districts of Pittsburgh at which Mr. Lawry attended?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes; of various left-wing organizations.

Mr. BARKER. And he was a speaker?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. That is all, Mr. Johnson.

Mr. THOMAS. Just a minute. I would like to have the witness explain what he means by a left-wing organization. What are some of these organizations that this man attended.

Mr. JOHNSON. For instance, the League for Peace and Democracy, the League Against War and Fascism, and as I remember it, there was one particular occasion at the Hotel Mayfair which I heard mentioned previously, Mr. Lawry solicited contributions for either one of those two organizations. My memory is not clear in my mind which one it was, except that it is definitely in my memory that he did do that.

Mr. THOMAS. And what two organizations were they?

Mr. JOHNSON. It was either one of the League for Peace and Democracy, or the League Against War and Fascism.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this Workers' School, there was no question but what it was a Communist school?

Mr. JOHNSON. Revolution was taught.

The CHAIRMAN. Revolution was taught at the school?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is no question, your memory is distinct that Mr. Lawry was present in the Workers' School upon the occasion of its dedication to Mother Bloor, or in honor of Mother Bloor?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes, Mr. Dies; I have. The way the story was handled, I kept a diary day by day, and submitted it to the city editor, and I have the diary here which carries the mention of seeing Mr. Lawry at the school on that occasion.

Mr. BARKER. He was there on other occasions, too?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you the dairy with you, the original entries? You made the entries immediately after the meeting?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you mind showing us what the entry is?

Mr. THOMAS. How long were you a student at that school?

Mr. JOHNSON. Roughly 3 months, for one semester.

Mr. VOORHIS. Was that school run by the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. It was run as an adjunct and as a recruiting station for the Communist Party.

Mr. BARKER. Did they ask you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Yes.

Mr. BARKER. Who asked you to join the Communist Party?

Mr. JOHNSON. Once it was James Eagan, who at the time, I think, as I recollect, was State secretary of the Communist Party, and once by a young man by the name of Al Rock.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; read the notation.

Mr. JOHNSON. Is one paragraph sufficient?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. JOHNSON (reading):

Mother Bloor sent a message of good wishes to the meeting. Ex-Burgess Richard Lawry was there for awhile.

And then I have in parentheses, "West Homestead."

The CHAIRMAN. You prepared that immediately after the meeting and filed that with your city editor?

Mr. JOHNSON. It is dated September 24—that would have been 1938.

Mr. VOORHIS. I just wanted to ask whether, when you went to this school, whether you were told of any connections with the Communist Party, or whether there was an attempt made to keep that from being known. In other words, was it an under-cover proposition, or was it, quite frankly, a Communist enterprise?

Mr. JOHNSON. The prospectus of the school that is given out to students openly states that it is a Marxist—it teaches Marxist ideology. The instructors there for obvious reasons mainly work under pseudonyms, and it was secret to the extent it was something like a Sunday club—you got in if you were known. I got into it on the merest chance—taking a chance and bluffing and it worked for awhile.

Mr. BARKER. Mr. John Stuben was a teacher at that school?

Mr. JOHNSON. Stuben, as I recall it, was scheduled to be a teacher for the semester subsequent to the one that I attended, and then the school was broken up, and whether he taught subsequently, I do not know.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? If not, the witness may stand aside.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you come around, Mr. Frankfeld?

STATEMENT OF PHIL FRANKFELD, STATE SECRETARY,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF MASSACHUSETTS

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand, please?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FRANKFELD. I do.

Mr. COHN. I am appearing as Mr. Frankfeld's attorney.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will recess for just a few minutes. (Recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Mr. LAWRY, you heard the testimony of Mr. Johnson, did you not, a moment ago?

Mr. LAWRY. Not too clearly; but I remember him stating that I attended a meeting at the Workers' School for a short time, and he said that he had in parentheses "West Homestead," at which Mother Bloor was there, and I wish to deny that.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not believe that that is quite accurate. He testified that you attended the meeting at which she sent a message, some sort of a meeting in honor of her, and not that she was present.

Mr. LAWRY. I just wish to deny emphatically that I was there at that time, or any other time in attendance at the Workers' School or at their sessions.

The CHAIRMAN. And the use of your name as a director was without your consent?

Mr. LAWRY. That is not in the record; that was a prior time, in 1936.

The CHAIRMAN. But that was without your consent?

Mr. LAWRY. Yes.

Mr. FRANKFELD. Mr. Dies, before answering all of your questions, 10,000 people, Massachusetts citizens, delegated me to read a resolution adopted last Sunday in the Boston arena, and this will take no more than 2 seconds, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. If you want that resolution read, if you want to put it in any record, give it to a Member of Congress; we will not receive resolutions in this committee.

Mr. FRANKFELD. I am quite certain that, following a democratic procedure, you will permit 10,000 people, Massachusetts citizens, to be heard, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We control the procedure of the committee. Proceed with the questions.

Mr. FRANKFELD. Before I answer a single question, Mr. Dies—

The CHAIRMAN (interposing). The committee denies you the right to read any resolution.

Mr. FRANKFELD. You are attempting to silence the voices of 10,000 citizens.

The CHAIRMAN. You are going to be courteous to this committee. The committee has already informed you that it will not receive any resolution that you are prepared to read, and now that is final.

Mr. FRANKFELD. I was instructed by 10,000 people to speak for them.

The CHAIRMAN. I have already told you the ruling.

Mr. FRANKFELD. I hope that you do not want to convict yourself of being—

Mr. STARNES (interposing). I move that we strike that remark from the record.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness's remarks are stricken.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please state your full name?

Mr. FRANKFELD. I will not answer a single question until you permit those 10,000 citizens to be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Shall we hold the witness in contempt? The witness is held in contempt. Let the record show that. You are not making any other statement. You are directed to answer questions, and you have declined to answer.

Mr. FRANKFELD. And you declined to listen to 10,000 citizens of our country.

The CHAIRMAN. You decline to answer any question. Remove the witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is the next witness?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Ann Burlak.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Ann Burlak, come around to the witness stand.

If there is any demonstration in the room on the part of anyone, he will be immediately ordered outside the room, and now let us proceed.

Miss Burlak, raise your right hand. Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss BURLAK. I do.

Mr. COHN. I represent Miss Burlak.

#### STATEMENT OF ANN BURLAK, ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF NEW ENGLAND

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Burlak, will you please give your full name for the record?

Miss BURLAK. Miss Ann Burlak.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your residence?

Miss BURLAK. Thirty-seven Falmouth Street, Boston.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your occupation?

Miss BURLAK. Administrative secretary of the Communist Party of New England.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you held that position?

Miss BURLAK. A little over a year.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you prior to the time you assumed the duties of this position?

Miss BURLAK. I was State organizer of the Communist Party of Rhode Island.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. Obviously.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. Since about 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you remember the date of your joining?

Miss BURLAK. Not particularly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you join?

Miss BURLAK. In Bethlehem, Pa.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who recruited you into membership in the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. I joined myself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did anyone solicit you to join?

Miss BURLAK. No. Mother Bloor happened to be speaking at a mass meeting and I thought she made a very fine explanation of the aims of the Communist Party, and I joined.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What other position have you held from the time of your joining the Communist Party, in the organization?

Miss BURLAK. The only official positions I held was State secretary in Rhode Island, and now the administrative secretary in New England.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where were you born, Miss Burlak?

Miss BURLAK. In Pennsylvania.

Mr. MATTHEWS. At what place?

Miss BURLAK. Slatington.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you held positions in any trade unions?

Miss BURLAK. Yes; certainly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you please enumerate them? And the approximate dates.

Miss BURLAK. I held positions in the National Textile Workers Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When was that?

Miss BURLAK. Well, I joined the union in 1928, since I was a textile worker. My first position in the union was when I was sent as organizer into Scranton, Pa., in 1929, the fall of 1929.

A few months later I was sent as organizer by the union into South Carolina, where I functioned for some 6 months, roughly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. This was still the National Textile Workers Union?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

I also worked in the State of Georgia for a little while, and later came to New England.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What work did you do in the State of Georgia?

Miss BURLAK. Organizer for the National Textile Workers Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that in 1935?

Miss BURLAK. About then. About the very beginning of 1930.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then you went to New England?

Miss BURLAK. Then I went to New England, to Rhode Island, where I functioned as the organizer of the union in Rhode Island.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

Miss BURLAK. That was in 1931.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And then what were your activities?

Miss BURLAK. Well, later I was elected as national secretary of the National Textile Workers Union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What year was that?

Miss BURLAK. I think that that was in 1932 or 1933. I don't recall which. I functioned in that capacity until 1934, when the union was dissolved, and all members at that time joined the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the political affiliation of the National Textile Workers Union?

Miss BURLAK. There was no political affiliation. It was a trade-union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. With what larger body of trade-unions was it affiliated?

Miss BURLAK. With the Trade Union Unity League.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the Trade Union Unity League in turn affiliated with the Red International of Labor Unions?

Miss BURLAK. It had a fraternal affiliation for a while which was later broken off.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It did have affiliations with the Red International?

Miss BURLAK. For a short period.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was at one time?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the general secretary of the Trade Union Unity League, of which the National Textile Workers Union was an affiliate?

Miss BURLAK. I think it was a man by the name of Schmies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. John Schmies?

Miss BURLAK. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know where John Schmies is now?

Miss BURLAK. I haven't got the slightest idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has John Schmies to your knowledge recently been the head of the International Workers' Order in Chicago?

Miss BURLAK. Since the National Textile Workers Union was dissolved, I know nothing of the activities or whereabouts of Mr. Schmies. I have had no association with him whatsoever.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is John Schmies a Communist?

Miss BURLAK. I have no idea.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know him as a Communist?

Miss BURLAK. I do not recall ever meeting him as a Communist.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that you have brought her to 1935. Will you pursue that?

Mr. MATTHEWS. I want to show the witness a card. Have you ever seen a section file card such as this one?

Miss BURLAK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Of any person, filled out or not filled out?

Miss BURLAK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Chairman, this is a section file card filled out in the name of John Schmies, of 180 West Washington, Chicago, Section Stockyards, city of Chicago, charter member of the Communist Party, Austro-Hungarian, country birth, country of origin, Germany. This is from the files of the Chicago office of the Communist Party, and incidentally, there is no secret whatever about Mr. Schmies' being a member of the Communist Party, his name having appeared frequently in Communist Party publications.

Miss BURLAK. So far as I know, I have no knowledge of that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the national committee of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. I am.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you a member of the committee, or what is known as a candidate?

Miss BURLAK. I am a candidate on the committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. A candidate is something of an alternate member?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you been a member of the national committee of the Communist Party or an alternate?

Miss BURLAK. I was elected at the 1936 convention.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have been a member 4 years?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, with respect to the National Textile Workers Union of which you were national secretary at the time of its dissolution.

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why was the National Textile Workers Union dissolved?

Miss BURLAK. Because the National Textile Workers Union policy was to always work with the majority of the workers, and at that period the majority of the workers were joining the United Textile Workers Union of the A. F. of L., that was in the strike of 1934, and the National Textile Workers Union did not wish to be just a sect or narrow organization of a small group of workers. We had several thousand workers, and decided to become a part of this large organization. We did not join in a body. The individual locals and individual members joined the organization as such.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members were there of the National Textile Workers Union when you were national secretary?

Miss BURLAK. Roughly, about 5,000.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And how many members were there of the United Textile Workers of America affiliated with the American Federation of Labor?

Miss BURLAK. Several hundred thousand. There were 125,000. I don't know exactly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And prior to 1934, when the National Textile Workers Union was dissolved, did the United Textile Workers Union have hundreds of thousands of members?

Miss BURLAK. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did it have more than 5,000 members?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Considerably more?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know the figures. I think if you will look up the files of their organization, you will find the figures.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was there any time during the existence of the National Textile Workers Union, that the United Textile Workers Union had fewer members than 5,000?

Miss BURLAK. No; I don't think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did you mean, then, by saying that the majority of workers were joining the United Textile Workers Union and therefore the National Textile Workers Union shifted its policy?

Miss BURLAK. Well, the textile industry has over 1,000,000 workers in the United States, and the American Federation of Labor, for a long time, paid no interest to organizing the majority of these workers. They had the skilled craftsmen in the organization, and that is why at that early period the National Textile Workers Union went into the field to organize the unskilled workers, the low-paid workers of the South and elsewhere.

In 1934, when the big strike began, the national strike, workers began to join by the tens of thousands into the United Textile Workers Union, and when that was happening the National Textile Workers Union decided in executive board, decided it was high time that we also joined with these hundreds of thousands of workers that were joining the A. F. of L.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the National Textile Workers Union dissolved during the so-called great textile strike or afterward?

Miss BURLAK. I think it was during the strike. I would not venture on the exact date. The strike was in September of 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen an article in the Communist of November 1934, by Carl Reeve, entitled "Lessons of the Great National Textile Strike"?

Miss BURLAK. Yes; I think that I saw that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does this refresh your recollection that the National Textile Workers Union proposed joint action with the United Textile Workers and that that was turned down, and that the National Textile Workers Union was still in existence after the strike was over?

Miss BURLAK. The National Textile Workers Union was not in existence after the strike was over, so far as I know. The decision was made during the strike, prior to the strike, when the strike was being prepared, we did propose joint action, which, as you say, was turned down and then, during the strike, we urged all of our locals to get into the larger organization and do their best and thereby to win that strike for the workers, the Textile Workers of America.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What was the date of that textile strike?

Miss BURLAK. About September of 1934.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long did the strike last?

Miss BURLAK. A short period.

Mr. MATTHEWS. About 3 weeks?

Miss BURLAK. Around that time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And yet in the Communist of 1934, Mr. Reeves is still speaking of the National Textile Workers Union as a union that has not been dissolved.

Miss BURLAK. Well, Mr. Reeve was not ever an official of our union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Reeve says on page 1123 of this issue of the Communist:

In order to achieve a united fight, the Party proposes steps for the merger of the N. T. W. U. membership into the U. T. W. in places where the masses adhere to the U. T. W. union.

What is meant by "the Party"?

Miss BURLAK. I suppose he referred to the Communist Party. I don't know what else Mr. Reeve might have been referring to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were national secretary of the National Textile Workers Union?

Miss BURLAK. That is right. That is Mr. Reeve's opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were aware of the fact that the Communist Party had proposed the merger of the two organizations, were you not?

Miss BURLAK. Yes. That was their opinion.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You stated a moment ago that the National Textile Workers had no political affiliation.

Miss BURLAK. It has no, and had no, political affiliations.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Why did the Communist Party propose that the National Textile Workers Union merge into the United Textile Union?

Miss BURLAK. The Communist Party is a party of the working class and always has the interests of the workers at heart, and is always interested in uniting all of the workers, for improved condi-

tions, and for all issues, for peace and other issues that are of interest to the American people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the national chairman of the Trade Union Unity League at the time of its dissolution?

Miss BURLAK. I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. It was not William Z. Foster?

Miss BURLAK. It is quite possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you not quite sure of it now that your recollection has been refreshed?

Miss BURLAK. It is quite possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you know any officials of the Trade Union Unity League who were not members of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. I am not prepared to say here, but am sure that there were some members who were not members of the Communist Party. Yes, I do recall one person, James Conroy, of Rhode Island, he is dead now, by the way, you don't have to look for him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But your recollection is that the others were members of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. Not all of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever describe the National Textile Workers' Union or the other affiliated unions of the Trade Union Unity League as revolutionary unions?

Miss BURLAK. Did I ever describe them? I don't recall.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were they so generally described in the literature of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. They were sometimes described so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder, who has testified here, has stated that they were.

Miss BURLAK. I don't know what Mr. Browder testified to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He said that they were revolutionary unions.

What did you mean by "revolutionary unions" when you so described the National Textile Workers Union and the other affiliated bodies of the Trade Union Unity League?

Miss BURLAK. I did not testify here that I described them that way.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You said that they were sometimes described as such.

Miss BURLAK. And you asked me now——

Mr. MATTHEWS. And you don't recollect whether you yourself did or not?

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When they were so described by the Communist Party in which you were an outstanding member, what was meant?

Miss BURLAK. Well, remember the word "revolution" is a broad term.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does the Communist Party use the word "revolution" in a sense which reflects its own interpretation of the word, or in this broad, loose sense?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know what you are referring to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I ask that the article by Carl Reeve in the Communist of November of 1934 be marked as an exhibit, exhibit No. 1 of Miss Burlak.

Mr. COHN. I object to it as irrelevant, incompetent, and immaterial, and not properly identified.

Mr. MATTHEWS. The witness has identified it as being——

Mr. COHX. No proper foundation having been laid.

(The article in *The Communist* of November 1934, by Carl Reeve, was marked "Exhibit No. 1.")

Mr. MATTHEWS. What were your subsequent trade-union activities after the dissolution of the National Textile Workers Union?

Miss BURLAK. I didn't carry on any more trade-union activities as an official of a trade union. I have continued to be active in all labor activities concerning the textile workers, as a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have been active in trade-union organizations?

Miss BURLAK. Not in trade-union organizations since the dissolution of the National Textile Workers Union. I have not been a member of a trade union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you ever connected with the National Councils of the Unemployed?

Miss BURLAK. I was never an official of the Unemployed Councils.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever work actively in the National Councils of the Unemployed?

Miss BURLAK. I helped to organize the hunger march during Hoover's regime.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you lead the hunger march?

Miss BURLAK. I was one of the leaders from New England.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you lead the hunger march of 1931?

Miss BURLAK. I think that that was the one. There were two hunger marches. I was in one of them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you enter Washington at that time?

Miss BURLAK. Yes. Mr. Hoover's administration did not treat the citizens very cordially at that time. They were left on New York Highway, or New York Avenue, here in Washington.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You mean you did not enter the city?

Miss BURLAK. I entered later with a delegation that called at the Capitol.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were you active in any other hunger marches of the National Council of the Unemployed?

Miss BURLAK. No; that was the only hunger march that I participated in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who was the national leader of the Councils of the Unemployed at that time?

Miss BURLAK. Herbert Benjamin.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. He is a member of the national committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Were the National Councils of the Unemployed controlled by the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir; it was quite a large mass organization.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is it possible for the Communist Party to control quite a large mass organization, in your experience?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir. The Communist Party members who are also members of mass organizations make their proposals in these organizations, and if they are logical—and usually they are logical—the membership accepts those proposals, and if they are not logical they are naturally rejected.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What does the Communist Party call the group of its own members who are active in a given mass organization?

Miss BURLAK. Individual members of the Communist Party——

Mr. MATTHEWS. What have they called them in the past?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know what you are referring to.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, Miss Burlak, you know that you know very well what a fraction is.

Miss BURLAK. Perhaps you know more about it than I do.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know what a fraction is.

Mr. COHN. I object to this.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know what a fraction is?

Miss BURLAK. I do not care to answer any questions of that kind. You are making statements and you are not asking me questions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am asking you if you know.

Miss BURLAK. There are no fractions of the Communist Party at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Were there ever any fractions in the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. The individual members of the Communist Party in mass organizations used to meet together and consult on various policies, that is true.

The CHAIRMAN. As a fraction; is that the common expression?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was the fraction obligated rigidly to carry out the instructions of the party in the mass organizations in which the fractions were formed?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know what you mean by that question.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Does Communist Party literature, with which I presume that you are familiar, so state, that Communist Party fractions in mass organizations are obligated?

Miss BURLAK. Will you produce a constitution of the Communist Party, please? I am sure that you have one because Mr. Hurley picked one up in our office in Boston.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, will you answer the question, please?

Miss BURLAK. I subscribe to the constitution of the Communist Party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is not responsive.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask Miss Burlak.

Miss Burlak, you stated that there were fractions in mass organizations that individual Communists belonged to, where they met and discussed policies and plans; is that right?

Miss BURLAK. That is right. It was not any organization to which they belonged, it was just that these individual members would get together and discuss certain policies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, the question is, was it obligatory upon the members of the individual Communists who formed these fractions to carry out the party's line or the party's orders? Now, you can answer that question, if you know.

Miss BURLAK. The constitution does not say so, and the constitution——

Mr. MATTHEWS. As a matter of fact, from what you yourself know, was that true?

Miss BURLAK. From my experience when individual members would meet, we would discuss certain plans on how to improve work and

how to improve conditions, and we would come to a common agreement.

The CHAIRMAN. That was to carry out the party line and the party policies?

Miss BURLAK. A particular plan, a particular plan for that particular time.

The CHAIRMAN. In accordance with the party line, is that right?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know what you mean by the party line.

The CHAIRMAN. In accordance with the party's program?

Miss BURLAK. In accordance with the decision that was made at that particular meeting, on that particular occasion.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that decision necessarily would be in accordance with the program of the Communist Party, would it not?

Miss BURLAK. Usually, of course.

The CHAIRMAN. You would not agree to any plan that would be in violation of the party's program, would you?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Miss Burlak, do you know John Patnaude?

Miss BURLAK. There was such a man in Rhode Island, who once joined the party, and became a stool pigeon. I have no use for stool pigeons.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do know this alleged stool pigeon?

Miss BURLAK. I met him once when he came to join the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever have any correspondence with this alleged stool pigeon?

Miss BURLAK. I think that I wrote him a letter saying that he was thrown out of the party. I do not recall definitely.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You were at that time secretary of the Communist Party in Rhode Island?

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that was in what year, do you recall?

Miss BURLAK. Oh, surely. I was secretary of the party of Rhode Island from the early part of 1937 until March of last year, until March of 1939.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You wrote this letter in 1938, or do you recall?

Miss BURLAK. I don't recall the exact date.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I read you a letter addressed to John Patnaude, 50 Camden Street, Providence, R. I.

Mr. COHN. May I ask whether he is reading from the original?

Miss BURLAK. May I see that before you read it?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just as soon as I read it you may see it.

This is not the original.

The CHAIRMAN. She can say whether or not——

Mr. COHN. I would like to know what he is reading from.

Mr. MATTHEWS (reading):

DEAR MR. PATNAUDE: The following charges have been brought against you by members of the Marine Fraction:

1. That while you joined the Communist Party in February of 1937, you have never made an attempt to pay any dues.

2. That you have attended only some five meetings altogether.

3. That in the past month you have fraternized with the Red baiters, in the N. M. U. and with anti-union elements in this party.

4. That you carried on Red baiting yourself in the union hall.

5. That you have taken an anti-C. I. O. position.

The State Committee of your Party has set up a special committee of three people to investigate these charges and hear what you have to say to them. This committee is composed of people who have nothing to do with the waterfront, so that they can hear the charges, and any defense that you have without any danger of being influenced in advance.

This committee will hold its meeting Tuesday, January 25, at 8 p. m., at 47 Jefferson Street, second floor.

You are instructed to be there without fail.

You may bring any Comrade or reliable person as witness if you feel these charges are unfounded.

If you fail to appear we will take it for granted that the charges are correct, and that you have nothing to say, and will take public action on the case.

Sincerely yours,

ANN BURLAK,  
*Secretary, C. P. R. I.*

Miss BURLAK. Yes, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You identified that as the letter?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. What was the date?

Mr. MATTHEWS. January 21, 1938.

Miss BURLAK. Subsequently we learned that he not only carried on these activities but was a definite stool pigeon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Up to January 21, 1938, the Communist Party did have fractions, did it not?

Miss BURLAK. Fractions did not exist generally. We referred to the group of individual members who met together to make suggestions in unions or other organizations, as fractions.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do state here, the first sentence, that "The following charges have been brought against you by members of the Marine Fraction."

Miss BURLAK. They were members of the party who were also seamen, happened to be workers on the waterfront.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And a fraction had the power to bring charges?

Miss BURLAK. Yes; not execute them.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And try a member of the party who was working in a given union?

Miss BURLAK. Even an individual member of the Communist Party can bring charges against another member, if they are true, if they are factual charges, and furthermore, even a nonparty member, any individual, can bring such charges, if he or she so desires.

Mr. THOMAS. Mr. Matthews, was there any trial in connection with this particular case?

Mr. MATTHEWS. That does not appear from the record.

Was there a charge?

Miss BURLAK. Mr. Patnaude was expelled.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did he appear?

Miss BURLAK. He did not appear at that meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. So you assumed, as you said in your letter—

Miss BURLAK. The charges were correct, and later we received further information that he was a definite stool pigeon and in the pay of the employers, and he was not only thrown out of the Communist Party, but he was discredited among his own union members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, you said when the individual members of the Communist Party who were in a trade union used to meet they called themselves a fraction. What do they call themselves now?

Miss BURLAK. They don't meet as a definite group.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When five or six Communist members are members of a union, do they avoid meeting for consultation?

Miss BURLAK. They may meet on an individual basis, that is, one individual talk to another, but there is no formal meeting.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That was the same way the fraction used to operate, according to your testimony, is it not?

Miss BURLAK. I said that we had meetings. I did say that we had meetings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do party members ever meet now for the same purpose?

Miss BURLAK. Not as a group.

Mr. MATTHEWS. They did meet as a group before?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. To take formal action?

Miss BURLAK. Take formal action?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Yes.

Miss BURLAK. I stated—you are putting words into my mouth. I stated that they met. No.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What did your letter mean by conveying the information of a formal action of this party?

Miss BURLAK. The group of seven or eight members of the Communist Party who were on the waterfront came as a body to present these charges to the office of the Communist Party, against this individual, Patnaude. They were all convinced that he was a stool pigeon, or at least they suspected at that time that he was a stool pigeon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When were fractions abolished in the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. I don't recall the exact date.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you recall the year?

Miss BURLAK. About 1936, I should say.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you sure? This letter is dated 1938, and you are still speaking of fractions.

Miss BURLAK. Perhaps I refer to it as a fraction.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is your best recollection about the time that they were abolished?

Miss BURLAK. About 1936. I may be wrong about that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Browder testified that they were abolished in 1938, early in 1938.

Miss BURLAK. That is quite possible.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And other witnesses have set still other dates, and documents introduced, Mr. Chairman, before this committee show that within the past year the fractions are still in existence and so recognized by the literature of the Communist Party.

Mr. COHN. I object to Mr. Matthews testifying.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is in the letter under the distribution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union where all fractions in the International Workers' Order and other mass organizations are instructed to distribute the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

Mr. COHN. I object to Mr. Matthews testifying and request that it all be stricken from the record.

Miss BURLAK. That was not a question; that was a statement, Mr. Dies. I don't have anything to say on Mr. Matthews' statements or testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. That is from the record, testimony of witnesses before this committee.

Miss BURLAK. I don't know that.

The CHAIRMAN. Assuming—

Miss BURLAK. I am not assuming anything before this committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you been active in the work of the Maritime Union in Boston since you became administrative secretary of the State of Massachusetts?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you have a branch of the Communist Party composed of seamen?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where is that branch located?

Miss BURLAK. In Boston.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How many members are there of that branch?

Miss BURLAK. It fluctuates. You know seamen travel all over the sea, and they don't always stay in Boston; so it fluctuates, depending on how many are in Boston at the particular time.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you any approximate idea of the number of members?

Miss BURLAK. It fluctuates tremendously, in the seamen's union.

Mr. MATTHEWS. In the seamen's unit, I meant.

Miss BURLAK. As I say, it fluctuates. Sometimes there is no more than half a dozen people in Boston, and sometimes there are as many as 75.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I am not particularly concerned now about whether they are present in Boston at any given time but how many do you have enrolled as members of the seamen's unit or branch of the Communist Party in Boston?

Miss BURLAK. To my recollection, there are over 50 who joined the Communist Party in Boston, at one time or another.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Al Lannon, or Albert Lannon?

Miss BURLAK. I have heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Is he active in the work of the National Maritime Union?

Miss BURLAK. So far as I know. I don't know the gentleman very well.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do know him, though?

Miss BURLAK. I have met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is his real name?

Miss BURLAK. I told you I don't know the gentleman. I have met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know his real name?

Miss BURLAK. Al Lannon.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know that his real name is Al Vettari?

Miss BURLAK. You seem to know more about this than I do, Mr. Matthews.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I hope that I know more than you are willing to state.

Mr. COHN. I move that that be stricken.

Miss BURLAK. Are you implying anything, Mr. Matthews?

I refuse to be insulted, Mr. Dies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Who is the secretary of the seamen's branch of the Communist Party in Boston?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You are administrative secretary of the party in Massachusetts?

Miss BURLAK. That is right. I don't know all of the individual members.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you know the functionaries of the various branches?

Miss BURLAK. Not of every individual branch. You see, we have quite a number of branches in Boston, and we have a city committee in Boston, which is made up of elected delegates from these branches and I don't deal with the individual branches, I deal with the officers of the city committee.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What are your duties as administrative secretary of the Communist Party in Massachusetts?

Miss BURLAK. Well, I get correspondence from the secretaries of the various sections in New England, on their dues payments, and I get correspondence on any new recruits, carry on correspondence in connection with the organizational work of the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you make reports to national headquarters?

Miss BURLAK. On the organizational work of the party; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What do you include in those reports for national headquarters?

Miss BURLAK. There are included, how the party is growing, where we are growing.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You report figures of membership?

Miss BURLAK. General figures; yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Don't you report the exact number of dues-paying members for each week?

Miss BURLAK. That is what the national office is interested in.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You also report the number of new recruits for each week?

Miss BURLAK. For each month, that is right.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you make monthly or weekly reports?

Miss BURLAK. Both.

Mr. MATTHEWS. But for the recruits, you report only monthly? Monthly is the testimony.

Miss BURLAK. Both weekly and monthly.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you recognize a picture of Al Lannon if you saw it?

Miss BURLAK. I may. I met the gentleman once.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Would you identify that picture as that of Al Lannon?

Miss BURLAK. I am not sure. That is not a very clear photograph. I can see that that is Mr. Browder, but I don't know the others.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do not recognize that as Al Lannon?

Miss BURLAK. Not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it look like him? Is there a resemblance?

Miss BURLAK. There may be. I have had some pictures taken of myself, that I would never recognize.

The CHAIRMAN. We have all had that experience.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that Al Lannon is a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. Yes; the Daily Worker has stated so many times.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Just as it has in the case of John Schmies, is that correct?

Miss BURLAK. I don't recall in the case of John Schmies. John Schmies, so far as I have seen, has not been in the columns of the Daily Worker for many years, not since I first met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When did you last see Al Lannon?

Miss BURLAK. Some time in New York. I don't remember just where.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever seen him in Boston?

Miss BURLAK. No; I haven't.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Adrian Duffy?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You never heard of Adrian Duffy?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir; I never heard of him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know Joe Jackson, alias Joe Stonewall Jackson?

Miss BURLAK. I never heard of him. I have heard of Stonewall Jackson in my history books.

Mr. MATTHEWS. How long have you known Mr. Frankfeld?

Miss BURLAK. I have known him for a long time. I have known him since 1929.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Since you joined the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. Yes. When I went to Scranton, that is where I first met Mr. Frankfeld; he was then an organizer for the Communist Party there.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Under what other names have you known Mr. Frankfeld?

Miss BURLAK. I haven't known him under any other names.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you not ever known Mr. Frankfeld under the name of Carl Franklin?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir; I have always known him as Phil Frankfeld.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever known him under the name of Joe West?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir. Mr. Frankfeld does not change his name.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You do know that many other Communist Party members have a party name as well as a real name, do you not?

Miss BURLAK. Some of them do if it is a question of jeopardizing their jobs.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that Mr. Browder has used other names, do you?

Miss BURLAK. So I have read in the newspapers, when it was also a question of endangering his life.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that Mr. William Weiner used another name than his own?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know. I have read some such thing in a newspaper.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Where did you first know Mr. Frankfeld, in Scranton?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And subsequent to that, where have you known him?

Miss BURLAK. After that I did not meet him again until about 1935; that was in 1929 that I said I met him in Scranton, and after that I did not see him again until about 1935, that was in New York City.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has Mr. Frankfeld ever told you about the activities of the Communist Party on the water front in Boston?

Miss BURLAK. I will let Mr. Frankfeld speak for himself.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Frankfeld has declined to do that and since you are from the same office, I am asking you the question.

Has Mr. Frankfeld ever discussed with you the activities of the Communist Party on the water front?

Miss BURLAK. Not necessarily.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Well, has he ever discussed them with you?

Miss BURLAK. Not that I recall. I was not particularly responsible for the water front. My specialty was textile workers. You see, I am a textile worker myself, and I went to work in the mills at 14.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have not been a textile worker since 1929?

Miss BURLAK. I worked for a brief period after that, for a few months at a time, after that, but never consistently after that.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know George Powers?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Did you ever know him under the name of M. H. Powers?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. When he used the name of M. H. Powers, was that the name under which he was generally known in the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. Yes; publicly, too.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Publicly also?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. He gave that as his name?

Miss BURLAK. That is right. That is when I first met him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Mr. Powers has testified here that he did not, that he recalled, that that was a newspaper accident, that he was ever known as M. H. Powers.

Mr. COUX. I object to Mr. Matthews testifying. The record speaks for itself, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You knew Mr. Powers in Georgia, did you not?

Miss BURLAK. I certainly did. We were arrested together—and by the way—

The CHAIRMAN. Let us have order.

Miss BURLAK. We were arrested for a very good cause. We tried to organize the Negroes and white in Georgia and, according to the Constitution, all men are equal, but according to Southern Representatives here they do not recognize Negroes as human beings.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever known George Powers under any other name than George Powers, or M. H. Powers?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Are you interested, among other things, in your duties as administrative secretary of the Communist Party, in the distribution of the history of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Miss BURLAK. Just as I am interested in the distribution of the history of the American Revolution and Irish rebellion, and all histories of working people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You say that you are interested in the distribution of the history of the American Revolution. Does the Communist Party have a textbook on that particular subject?

Miss BURLAK. No; there are plenty of good writers on the American history.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know a book entitled "The First American Revolution," by Jack Hardy?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have used that in your work?

Miss BURLAK. I have read it.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know who Jack Hardy is, don't you?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know that I have ever met the gentleman.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know that Jack Hardy is not his real name?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know anything about Mr. Hardy except that I read his book.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have read his book?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Has he written other books that have been used in the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. As I recall, he wrote a book pertaining to labor and textiles, or labor and silk, or one of those. It was a series for the Labor Research Association.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You have heard in party circles that Jack Hardy is a teacher in New York schools, have you not?

Miss BURLAK. I have not heard anything of the kind.

Mr. MATTHEWS. And that in New York schools he teaches under the name of Dale Zysman?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know Mr. Hardy, or anything about him.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You know his book?

Miss BURLAK. I know his book—certainly; and I know books of many people.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Now, with reference to the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which you say that you have been interested in distributing, how many copies has the party in Massachusetts distributed?

Miss BURLAK. Over 2,000 copies.

Mr. MATTHEWS. What is the purpose of the distribution of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to your members and as many of the Communist Party sympathizers as will buy it and read it?

Miss BURLAK. Well, we feel that a study of the history of the labor movement in any country in the world is of interest to any intelligent person, and we make it a special point to see that our membership read the History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union, of the different activities in the labor movement of Germany and of England and Ireland, and of the United States.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You intend to say that this History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is just another labor history?

Miss BURLAK. I think it is a much better history book than many I have read.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Doesn't the preface state that this is the outstanding piece of Marxist literature of this generation?

Miss BURLAK. I think so.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Then it is not just another history of the labor movement.

I want to know if you were trying to describe it as just another history by your reference.

Miss BURLAK. I would say it is a—I think it is a much better history.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Will you identify that as a copy of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

Mr. MATTHEWS. I will ask that this be marked as an exhibit.

**(The book History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was marked "Exhibit No. 2.")**

Miss BURLAK. Now, may I ask you a question?

Mr. MATTHEWS. No.

Miss BURLAK. How about getting back to the United States—as to my activities?

Mr. MATTHEWS. Your activities include the distribution of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, you have stated.

Miss BURLAK. Yes. I was one of those and it was distributed throughout the party.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Have you ever described the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as the model party for Communists the world over?

Miss BURLAK. I think it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. You think that it is?

Miss BURLAK. I think it is.

Mr. MATTHEWS. That is the reason why you distribute or help to distribute this book, is it not?

Mr. COHN. She has already stated the reason.

The CHAIRMAN. He can ask her whether that is one of the reasons.

Is that one of the reasons that—

Miss BURLAK. One of the reasons is that we want our membership to study the History of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union and learn from it as well as studying the history of our own American Revolution and learning from it.

The CHAIRMAN. You regard the Communist Party and the Soviet Union as the ideal party, the ideal government?

Miss BURLAK. I think that they have done a very good job.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe that you stated a moment ago, that you stated that that is your ideal of where they should have a government?

Miss BURLAK. We were not discussing government. We were discussing the party, and I think that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a good party, the model party.

Mr. THOMAS. I would like to ask a question right there.

Miss BURLAK. have you also distributed to your Communist members books on the American Revolution?

Miss BURLAK. Sure.

Mr. THOMAS. What ones, for instance?

Miss BURLAK. Well, Mr. Hardy's book, for one.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Was that published by International Publishers?

Miss BURLAK. I do not recall. It may have been.

Mr. MATTHEWS. Do you know that he is a member of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. I don't know anything of the kind. We have distributed Beard's book on American history.

Mr. THOMAS. What was the title of that book?

Miss BURLAK. I don't recall for the moment.

The CHAIRMAN. How many copies did you distribute of that book?

Miss BURLAK. Well, that is in every public library, and our members——

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you that. You say that you distributed it. I am asking you how many copies you distributed?

Miss BURLAK. I didn't, personally. That may have been a slip of the tongue. I didn't personally distribute the copies because it is in all of the libraries.

The CHAIRMAN. Then your statement that you distributed Beard's book is not correct.

Mr. CONN. She was not speaking for herself.

The CHAIRMAN. The Communist Party, do you know if the Communist Party distributed Beard's book?

Miss BURLAK. We may have in our classes.

The CHAIRMAN. It is not a question of "may have."

Miss BURLAK. We used the book in our classes.

The CHAIRMAN. That is quite different using the book in your classes and distributing the book. Have you ever distributed any book like you distributed the History of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. Sure; we sell many of them in the various book shops that carry our books.

Mr. THOMAS. We are referring to American history.

Miss BURLAK. American history books.

The CHAIRMAN. What other book have you distributed?

Miss BURLAK. I already stated to you, in our book shops we sell Beard's book as well as other books.

Mr. THOMAS. Did you sell this particular book?

Miss BURLAK. This particular book is sold in the book shops; yes, sir.

Mr. THOMAS. But you gave that away to 2,000 people?

Miss BURLAK. Oh no; you misunderstood. We sold them; yes.

Mr. THOMAS. What did you get for them?

Miss BURLAK. Forty cents, which was the cost price of printing the book, and that is why our members were able to buy this book.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you recall any book on American history that you sold to 2,000 people?

Miss BURLAK. Those books are so expensive——

Mr. THOMAS. I asked you a question.

Miss BURLAK. I am giving you an answer.

Mr. THOMAS. Can you recall any book on American history that you sold to 2,000 people?

Miss BURLAK. No; not 2,000 copies, because we get them in the public libraries.

Mr. THOMAS. That is the answer.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, gentlemen? Any further questions?

I want to ask you this question. Do you keep a record of the members of the Communist Party of the State of Massachusetts?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir; we haven't had any list of members, any record of members since 1937.

The CHAIRMAN. Prior to 1937 you kept a record?

Miss BURLAK. There were such lists.

The CHAIRMAN. But since 1937 there is no list?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir; there is no written list anywhere.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the members of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Who issues the membership book to the new member?

Miss BURLAK. The branches do.

The CHAIRMAN. The branches do?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is any record kept of that?

Miss BURLAK. Only the figures.

The CHAIRMAN. Only the total number. Do you keep the number of the book?

Miss BURLAK. Those are kept by the branches.

The CHAIRMAN. The party number?

Miss BURLAK. Pardon?

The CHAIRMAN. Each book has a number.

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And the branch president keeps the number?

Miss BURLAK. Usually. It is not obligatory but they usually do.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, who keeps the record of the dues payment, the individual dues payment?

Miss BURLAK. That is also kept in the local branches. You see our branches are not organized on very large numbers, and the secretary of the local branch can remember quite well who the members of the branch are, and who pay dues.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, do the secretaries or presidents of local branches in turn make any report to the State headquarters of the Communist Party?

Miss BURLAK. They generally make a report to the section. We have several, well, would you say, groupings, we have the branch, we have the section, and then we have the district.

The CHAIRMAN. They make a report to the section of the new members, and the dues payment?

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And then the section?

Miss BURLAK. They make the report to me.

The CHAIRMAN. To you as the administrative secretary?

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. But when you get the report, it does not have the names of anyone?

Miss BURLAK. No, sir. It has, for instance, New Bedford, paid for so many dues this week, and New Bedford has several branches, or let us say Boston paid so many dues for the week.

The CHAIRMAN. Does it also have the fact that so many new members were recruited?

Miss BURLAK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. How many members in the party do you have in the State of Massachusetts? I believe someone testified——

Miss BURLAK. Between 1,500 and 1,600.

The CHAIRMAN. Between 1,500 and 1,600?

Miss BURLAK. That is for the New England district. That includes Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, and Rhode Island.

The CHAIRMAN. And about a thousand members in Massachusetts?

Miss BURLAK. Roughly.

The CHAIRMAN. Roughly a thousand persons?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that a decline or an increase?

Miss BURLAK. That is an increase. We have had a steady increase for the last number of years.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you give some idea of the increase? What was it, say, 6 months ago?

Miss BURLAK. Well, a year ago it was less than 1,500. Just what the increase was, just what the figure was 6 months ago, I don't recall, offhand.

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately, though, you are certain that it has been an increase since 6 months ago of about how many new members, would you say?

Miss BURLAK. It would have to be a rough guess.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Miss BURLAK. In the 6-month period, I think about 300 members or so.

The CHAIRMAN. About 300 members or so?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. That includes people of all occupations?

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Skilled workers, unskilled workers?

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. People employed in various industries?

Miss BURLAK. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. In that section?

Miss BURLAK. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And includes different nationalities?

Miss BURLAK. Anybody can join the Communist Party who agrees with its principles.

The CHAIRMAN. And there is no record anywhere of who those 1,500 members are?

Miss BURLAK. I don't have any such record.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know of any record?

Miss BURLAK. There is no record with all of those members there. There may be some small records in each branch. I don't know that.

Mr. CASEY. Is Connecticut in the New England district?

Miss BURLAK. No.

Mr. CASEY. What district is Connecticut in?

Miss BURLAK. They have a State organization of their own.

Mr. CASEY. Separate and distinct?

Miss BURLAK. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned subject to the call of the chairman.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., the committee adjourned.)

# INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

THURSDAY, APRIL 4, 1940

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee met at 3 p. m., Hon. Martin Dies (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The committee is sitting as a subcommittee composed of the chairman, Mr. Thomas, and Mr. Casey. The committee will sit as a subcommittee until there is a quorum present.

Captain Rubley, will you please come forward?

I may say that Captain Rubley is attending the hearing voluntarily, in obedience to a telegraphic request. The committee agreed to hear him promptly on his arrival, as I understand he is on his way to Alaska, and it is of great importance to him to get away this afternoon.

You have been served with a subpoena, Captain?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Raise your right hand. You solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Captain RUBLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. All, right Mr. Lynch.

## TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL J. RUBLEY, CAPTAIN, MEDICAL CORPS, MICHIGAN NATIONAL GUARD

Mr. LYNCH. Captain Rubley, will you give us your full name for the record, please?

Captain RUBLEY. Capt. Samuel J. Rubley.

Mr. LYNCH. Your address?

Captain RUBLEY. Logansport, Ind.

Mr. LYNCH. Your occupation?

Captain RUBLEY. Physician and surgeon.

Mr. LYNCH. Practicing where?

Captain RUBLEY. At Logansport, Ind.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you hold any official position?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Where were you stationed or located before you moved to Logansport, Ind.?

Captain RUBLEY. Detroit.

Mr. LYNCH. How long were you in Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. Six years.

Mr. LYNCH. And when did you move from Detroit to Logansport?

Captain RUBLEY. Latter part of February 1939.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you hold any official position with the Government at this time?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. I am still a captain.

Mr. LYNCH. Captain of what?

Captain RUBLEY. Of the Medical Corps, unassigned.

Mr. LYNCH. What is that?

Captain RUBLEY. Unassigned.

Mr. LYNCH. United States Army?

Captain RUBLEY. National Guard.

Mr. LYNCH. Out of what State?

Captain RUBLEY. Michigan.

Mr. LYNCH. And for how long have you held that commission?

Captain RUBLEY. May I refer to my notes?

Mr. LYNCH. Certainly.

Captain RUBLEY. June 18, 1930.

Mr. LYNCH. And are you in private medical practice at this time?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. And I understand you are going away from Logansport?

Captain RUBLEY. We are all packed now; yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Where are you going?

Captain RUBLEY. Juneau, Alaska.

Mr. LYNCH. To engage in private practice?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. For yourself, or is it a Government position?

Captain RUBLEY. With a clinic.

Mr. LYNCH. What clinic?

Captain RUBLEY. Juneau Surgical and Medical Clinic.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that supported by the Government?

Captain RUBLEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know Mr. Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I have never met him.

Mr. LYNCH. Never met him?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever have any correspondence with him?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir; I have had considerable correspondence with him 6 years ago or 7 years ago.

Mr. LYNCH. And do you know Mr. Summerville, Robert C. Summerville?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I never met him.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever have any correspondence with him?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; I think perhaps I did.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know Mr. Paul A. Toal?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you know who he is?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you a member of the Silver Legion of America?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you have any connection with it?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you a member of the Ku Klux Klan of Detroit or Michigan?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Are you a member of any branch of the Ku Klux Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir; never have been.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever have anything to do with the membership or organization of the Ku Klux Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you advocate membership in it?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you advocate membership in the Silver Legion?

Captain RUBLEY. I did not understand that.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you advocate membership in the Silver Legion?

Captain RUBLEY. Did I advocate it? I tried to get no one to join it; no, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you try to get other persons to get members for this legion?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever discuss the question of the growth of the Klan or the Silver Legion?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I perhaps have discussed the growth of them.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you interested in the growth of them?

Captain RUBLEY. At one time I was interested in it merely through correspondence.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you do anything other than correspond about it?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. I will show you a letter, dated October 20, 1933, purporting to be signed by Capt. S. J. Rubley, and I will ask you if that is your signature?

(Handing letter to Captain Rubley.)

Captain RUBLEY. (No answer.)

Mr. LYNCH. Can you tell us whether that is your signature, Captain?

Captain RUBLEY. I would say that it was.

Mr. LYNCH. You would say that you wrote that letter to Mr. Summerville?

Captain RUBLEY. It is on the stationery similar to that that I had at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. And it appears to be your signature?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. And you will say it is your signature, won't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. All right. I offer this for the record, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received and made a part of the record.

(The letter referred to by Mr. Lynch is made a part of the record.)

Mr. LYNCH. One of the things it says in this letter is:

The Klan is growing with unbelievable rapidity. Inside of a month I predict a membership of 50,000. I am working very closely with them.

Were you working closely with them or not, Captain?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I wasn't working closely with them.

Mr. LYNCH. What did you mean by the statement: "I am working closely with them"?

Captain RUBLEY. That is back so far it is hazy in my mind what I did mean. As I recall, there wasn't—I didn't do anything with them. They came to my office trying to get me to join them.

Mr. LYNCH. Who came to your office trying to get you to join them?

Captain RUBLEY. I can't remember their names—it is so far back.

Mr. LYNCH. You mean people would just come in to you and start talking to you without you knowing who they were?

Captain RUBLEY. They were putting the heat on everyone at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. Were they putting the heat on you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; they were putting the heat on everyone at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. Were they putting the heat on you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Didn't you know who they were?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you make any inquiries to ascertain who they were?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I found out they were Klansmen, or they said they were.

Mr. LYNCH. How many would come at a time to see you?

Captain RUBLEY. Generally two.

Mr. LYNCH. Did they threaten you?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. What do you mean by "putting the heat" on you? To make you join?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, they were out on a membership drive. That is all—that is all I mean.

Mr. LYNCH. You were not forced to send this letter to Mr. Summer-ville, were you?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Then you say, "I wish it was so you could send an organizer here to work full time."

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. At that time things in Detroit were bad. There was no anticommunistic activities going on there. There was no organization combating communism at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. What organization did you want built up to combat it? The Klan or the Silver Legion?

Captain RUBLEY. At that time I was interested in the Silver Legion.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you also interested in the Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You wanted an organizer for the Silver Legion sent out there?

Captain RUBLEY. That is what I had reference to at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. And what would an organizer of the Silver Legion do?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know what he would do if he came there. It became a little too fantastic for me, and I soon dropped out of all correspondence with them.

Mr. LYNCH. Was an organizer ever sent?

Captain RUBLEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever talk to any organizer?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. You say your time is so taken up—

I do not have time to get more than 4 hours' sleep a night and have had to give up one class in equitation, but hope to have 50 Klansmen mounted in 2 weeks' time.

Had you made any arrangements about the mounting of Klansmen on horses?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. You do ride horseback, do you not?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Frequently?

Captain RUBLEY. I used to when I was in the cavalry—5 years.

Mr. LYNCH. And were you riding in the fall of 1933?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And did you interest others in taking up horseback riding?

Captain RUBLEY. I had three or four classes at that time. I was teaching equitation in classes.

Mr. LYNCH. Under what auspices?

Captain RUBLEY. Private.

Mr. LYNCH. Your own classes?

Captain RUBLEY. Private riding academies—a private stable.

Mr. LYNCH. In Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. And how many members did you have in your class?

Captain RUBLEY. They would range all the way from 5 to 10 or 15.

Mr. LYNCH. And they were grown people?

Captain RUBLEY. No; not necessarily. I had one class of ladies from the telephone department. I had one class of boys from the Western Union. I had a class of, private class of, Reserve officers and their wives.

Mr. LYNCH. How many did you have altogether in your classes?

Captain RUBLEY. I could not say.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, give us an approximate number?

Captain RUBLEY. In all classes?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Captain RUBLEY. At all times?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Captain RUBLEY. Maybe 30.

Mr. LYNCH. You then say: "They are preparing seriously to defend their homes and their country." What did you mean by that?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that is the report that these Klan organizers gave me when they would come in to talk to me.

Mr. LYNCH. And you were passing that information on to Mr. Summerville?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; I told him that.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you meet Mr. Summerville?

Captain RUBLEY. I never met him.

Mr. LYNCH. Who introduced you to him? Or how did you know where to contact him or how did you contact him?

Captain RUBLEY. I had a—when I was in school I lived with a man, or roomed with a man, who introduced me by mail to Mr. Summerville.

Mr. LYNCH. And how long ago was that?

Captain RUBLEY. That I lived with this man—that I was associated with him?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes; that this occurred—when you were introduced to Summerville by mail?

Captain RUBLEY. In 1933.

Mr. LYNCH. The same year?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; the same year.

Mr. LYNCH. And you knew the movement he was interested in?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Who was the friend that introduced you by mail?

Captain RUBLEY. Lawrence Brown.

Mr. LYNCH. What is his occupation or position?

Captain RUBLEY. He is now—you mean now?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes; or then—both.

Captain RUBLEY. Then, I don't know what he was doing. Not much of anything as I recall. Now he is with Pelley Publications.

Mr. CASEY. Who is with Pelley Publications?

Captain RUBLEY. Lawrence Brown.

Mr. LYNCH. Lawrence Brown introduced him to Summerville.

Then you say: "I have just talked with Dr. Weber, and we have decided to leave our families as far from Detroit as we can."

Captain RUBLEY. I can't—I have been racking my brain on the way in here; I cannot recall who this "Dr. Weber" is.

Mr. LYNCH. Then you say in the same sentence: "I may be exceptionally bloodthirsty, but I feel that the last winter's snow will be tinged scarlet in the streets of Detroit." What did you mean by that?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I took the alarmist viewpoint there, and I listened too much to other alarmists, and I just had my time dated wrong, that is all.

Mr. LYNCH. What "time dated wrong"? What do you mean by your "time dated wrong"?

Captain RUBLEY. Let me put it this way: I became overalarmed about the situation.

Mr. LYNCH. What situation?

Captain RUBLEY. The communistic situation there.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you think there was going to be an open revolution in the city of Detroit before the winter of 1933 was over?

Captain RUBLEY. According to the reports that I heard and the things that were written to me.

Mr. LYNCH. And who would give you these reports?

Captain RUBLEY. I got them from Summerville—I got them from Lawrence Brown.

Mr. LYNCH. Summerville wasn't giving you reports about Detroit, was he?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Where was Summerville when you were writing him in the fall of 1933?

Captain RUBLEY. I think he was in Asheville.

Mr. LYNCH. You were getting your reports from somebody else in Detroit, weren't you, besides Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. No. Brown wasn't there in Detroit.

Mr. LYNCH. Who were you getting your reports from then?

Captain RUBLEY. I wasn't getting any reports from anyone in Detroit. It was just what I observed. I had lived in a small community all my life and when I went to Detroit to take special training the situation there somewhat alarmed me.

Mr. LYNCH. How long had you been in Detroit in October 1933 when you were writing these letters?

Captain RUBLEY. One month.

Mr. LYNCH. Where had you formerly resided?

Captain RUBLEY. Monroe, Mich.

Mr. LYNCH. How far is that from Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. Forty miles.

Mr. LYNCH. And give us your age, Captain, so we can have it for the record?

Captain RUBLEY. Now?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Captain RUBLEY. I will be 45.

Mr. CASEY. Mr. Lynch, at this point I would like to ask a question. If I am asking a question you have already asked, I wish you would stop me. You say that you took your alarmist viewpoint from Summerville and Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. CASEY. And neither of them were in Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. CASEY. Did you subscribe to the Pelley Publications?

Captain RUBLEY. No. I never subscribed to them.

Mr. CASEY. Was Brown with Pelley Publications at that time?

Captain RUBLEY. No; he was not.

Mr. CASEY. Was he affiliated in any way with Mr. Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. I think he was.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever meet Mr. Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I never did.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever correspond with Mr. Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. I did.

Mr. CASEY. When did you correspond with him?

Captain RUBLEY. At the same time for 2 or 3 months there in 1933.

Mr. CASEY. How many times did you write to him?

Captain RUBLEY. Oh, I wouldn't know.

Mr. CASEY. In the course of 2 or 3 months. You don't know how many times you wrote. Would it be a half a dozen times?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir. I would say that, and maybe more.

Mr. CASEY. Now, who started that correspondence? You or Mr. Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. I cannot recall. Perhaps I did upon the advice of Lawrence Brown. I don't know whether I corresponded first with Robert Summerville or with Mr. Pelley.

Mr. CASEY. What I am trying to find out is how you became affiliated with the alarmist viewpoint.

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that is rather hard to say, but when you get letters from a person that you have known for some time, as I had known Mr. Brown—I had known him for 25 years, I would say. We had been in school together; we were in college together, although he was a little bit ahead of me. And we had corresponded off and on throughout those 25 years and were close friends, so naturally I took his viewpoint.

Mr. CASEY. Well, our committee, you see, has been trying to point out the great danger of one minority group against another and the resultant inflaming of the minds of the people, and you sort of seem to exemplify that.

Captain RUBLEY. I became more or less inflamed for a while, but it became a little too fantastic and it died a natural death.

Mr. CASEY. And you now know, of course, that the things that men like Pelley and Brown preached at that time were things without substance and never did come true?

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Captain Rubley, you are not a Catholic, are you?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. You say in this letter: "There is no place"—after you mentioned the fact that you are establishing a clinic—"that there is no place"—

Captain RUBLEY. What is that, again?

Mr. LYNCH. You mentioned in this letter that you had been establishing a clinic—ear, eye, nose, and throat clinic——

Captain RUBLEY. No; I have no clinic.

Mr. LYNCH. No; I will read it to you.

Captain RUBLEY. All right; do that, please.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

Just at the particular time I am opening a moderate-priced eye, ear, nose, and throat clinic.

Captain RUBLEY. Oh, I beg your pardon. I retract that. I did have a low-priced clinic there for a short time.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

For the good American citizen that is caught in the rollers, high taxes and low income, who are fighting to keep their homes and to hold on to the slanting foothold they have already gained. There is no place these deserving people can get their work done at reasonable prices. They cannot go to the charity clinics unless they are Catholics and Jews, and there are very few of this type out here.

Was it true that Pelley and Summerville were interested and were directing their efforts against the Catholics and the Jews?

Captain RUBLEY. Not that I know of. I don't know that he was against the Catholics; no.

Mr. LYNCH. You are sure that he was?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I am not sure that he was.

Mr. LYNCH. Was there ever any conversation about it or talk or further correspondence?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Sir?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know what you are asking about.

Mr. LYNCH. He was against Jews, wasn't he?

Captain RUBLEY. Oh, he is the No. 1 Jew baiter, I would say.

Mr. LYNCH. All right, is it true that only the Catholics or Jews could get hospitalization in Detroit at that time?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Then that was an error on your part?

Captain RUBLEY. That was an error on my part. I found out afterward when I got to know the city better——

Mr. LYNCH. Was it an error or a deliberate misstatement?

Captain RUBLEY. It was an error.

Mr. LYNCH. How long had you been practicing there in Detroit at that time, in October 1933?

Captain RUBLEY. One month. I went there in September.

Mr. LYNCH. You were connected with a hospital there?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. What hospital?

Captain RUBLEY. City Physician's office.

Mr. LYNCH. And didn't you know that anyone could get hospitalization? Didn't you know they did not have to be a Catholic or a Jew before they could get hospitalization?

Captain RUBLEY. That was somewhat of an exaggeration. Anyone can get assistance there that needs it.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever discuss this matter with anyone else besides Mr. Summerville or Mr. Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. Discuss it with anyone?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes; your friends in Detroit and acquaintances in Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. Undoubtedly I did.

Mr. LYNCH. How many people would you say that you discussed this idea with?

Captain RUBLEY. Not over three or four.

Mr. LYNCH. Not over that many?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. CASEY. What "idea" do you refer to?

Mr. LYNCH. The idea of the fact that there would have to be, I presume, a revolution.

Mr. CASEY. I would like to ask him: From whom did you get the information that you based the statement on that no one but Catholics or Jews could get hospital treatment.

Captain RUBLEY. As I said, that was my first observation. You see this was written shortly after I went to Detroit and it is a mistake. It was a misstatement at that time—not intentional.

Mr. CASEY. Well, I am trying to find out who misled you or what misled you.

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I cannot answer that. I don't know where I got that idea. But it's not—I put it down as an intentional error.

Mr. CASEY. It has rather vicious consequences in that it lines up Americans of various religions against each other. It is inflammatory and prejudicial.

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Having those vicious consequences I would like to have you think as hard as you can in order to help the committee find out where you got that idea. Was it from Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. No. Pelley did not know anything about the situation there in Detroit.

Mr. CASEY. Was it from Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. No; he wasn't there.

Mr. CASEY. Was it from Summerville?

Captain RUBLEY. No; he wasn't there.

Mr. CASEY. Then the only other people that you conferred with were four or five other people in Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. I know, but if you are doing a certain amount of work—if you are working along a certain line you get opinions along that line which later on change.

Mr. CASEY. Is that the only explanation you can offer?

Captain RUBLEY. That is the only explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, did you have any personal observations? Was your opinion based on any personal observations? You had only been in Detroit a few days.

Captain RUBLEY. That is it. I made a statement before that I was not grounded enough to make an opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact at the time you wrote that letter you felt very much prejudiced toward the Catholics and the Jews?

Captain RUBLEY. No; not the Catholics; no.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not feel prejudiced toward the Catholics?

Captain RUBLEY. I have worked very closely with them in their hospitals.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you feel prejudiced toward the Jews?

Captain RUBLEY. Not especially at that time.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, of course, the point we are trying to determine here is, you went into a city, you had only been there a few days. No one told you this but you sit down and write a letter and say that "no one but Catholics and Jews could get attention at the charity hospitals".

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that is the way it seemed to me at that time. Now later on, as I became more familiar with the work and saw how it was carried out, I changed my opinion entirely.

The CHAIRMAN. As a matter of fact, Captain, you were a member of the Silver Legion?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I was not.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever meet with any Silver Legion group?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not know any of them?

Captain RUBLEY. I did not know another single Legionnaire in Detroit and never did know another one.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know them anywhere?

Captain RUBLEY. No; with the exception of Lawrence Brown. He is the only Silver Legionnaire that I knew.

The CHAIRMAN. They sent you Liberation, didn't they?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; he did for some time but I never subscribed to it.

Mr. LYNCH. Were you pledged to their cause, Captain?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Then what do you mean by this sentence in your letter:

I pledge myself to your cause?

Captain RUBLEY. Well——

Mr. LYNCH (continuing):

and will keep you informed of all that is going on in this city, but at the present time I am seriously handicapped for both time and money. I am forced to delay my visit to headquarters at this time but you can depend upon me as a Silver Shirt in Detroit.

What did you mean by that?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, at that time I meant that.

Mr. LYNCH. You were pledged to their cause then, weren't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Only in writing.

Mr. LYNCH. You said those exact words?

Captain RUBLEY. At that time I was in sympathy with them from what I knew of it at that time. Since then I have changed my opinion.

Mr. LYNCH. When did you change your opinion?

Captain RUBLEY. Shortly after that. I would say in the early part of 1934.

Mr. LYNCH. What occurred to make you change your opinion?

Captain RUBLEY. As I said once or twice before, the idea became a little fantastic.

The CHAIRMAN. What idea "became fantastic?"

Captain RUBLEY. The material that came out of Asheville.

The CHAIRMAN. Was it any more fantastic—how long was it before it became fantastic? A year later?

Captain RUBLEY. When I had time—when I took time to sit down and reason it out.

The CHAIRMAN. How long after that was it? A year later?

Captain RUBLEY. After this letter?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Captain RUBLEY. I would say a few months.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a few months after that you became disgusted with the movement?

Captain RUBLEY. Not disgusted—yes, you can say "disgusted with the cause."

The CHAIRMAN. And you severed all relationship with it?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you ever write them and tell them that you were doing that?

Captain RUBLEY. No. It just tapered off.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, was there anything in the publications that caused you to finally taper off? Wasn't the material about the same from month to month?

Captain RUBLEY. It is always the same. You read one Liberation now and you read one 6 months ago or one a year ago, and it is all about the same.

The CHAIRMAN. That is what I was trying to inquire into. What change in material took place that convinced you it was fantastic? How could you believe it was all right when you wrote the letter and then 6 months later the same material appeared fantastic to you?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I don't know how I can explain that. We sometimes get tired of hearing the same thing over and over and over, the same thing in a dozen different ways and it didn't—

Mr. CASEY. Sometimes hearing the same thing over and over reacts differently on different types of minds. They begin to believe in a falsehood if it is repeated often enough.

Captain RUBLEY. That is right, but it did not work that way on me.

Mr. CASEY. Were you furnishing Mr. Pelley with information about conditions in Detroit at the time when you were mis-informed?

Captain RUBLEY. I probably was but I could not say I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. You were a captain in the Reserves, were you not?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What were you?

Captain RUBLEY. In the National Guard.

The CHAIRMAN. In the National Guard?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you still an officer in the National Guard?

Captain RUBLEY. No. I resigned that when I left Detroit about a year ago—13 months ago.

The CHAIRMAN. About a year ago?

Captain RUBLEY. Thirteen months ago I left Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. You have no connection with it now?

Captain RUBLEY. Not with the National Guard. I still have my commission as captain. I haven't resigned that.

The CHAIRMAN. You have your commission as captain?

Captain RUBLEY. In the Medical Corps.

The CHAIRMAN. Medical Corps of the National Guard?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I suppose that is it: yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you receive compensation from the Federal Government?

Captain RUBLEY. No, no. Not any more.

The CHAIRMAN. You have received compensation from the Federal Government, have you not?

Captain RUBLEY. Oh, yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, may I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Your commission is in the National Guard, captain, Medical Corps, or is it in the Army?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I was commissioned in the National Guard.

Mr. VOORHIS. You are commissioned as a captain in the National Guard?

Captain RUBLEY. Let me read it.

Mr. LYNCH. Read it into the record, Captain.

Captain RUBLEY (reading):

Recognition in the National Guard of Michigan as captain, Medical Corps, 119 Ambulance Company, 107 Medical Regiment, June 18, 1930.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you receive your medical education?

Captain RUBLEY. University of Michigan.

Mr. LYNCH. Anywhere else?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. Some at Chicago.

Mr. LYNCH. Where in Chicago?

Captain RUBLEY. Illinois Post Graduate—no, Illinois Ear, Nose, and Throat College, and at Harvard.

Mr. LYNCH. Harvard University?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. When did you go to Harvard?

Captain RUBLEY. 1921, the summer course.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you come in contact with any of the Communist organizations up at Harvard at that time?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you request them to send an organizer out to Detroit to carry on this work?

Captain RUBLEY. The letter says I did.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you want an organizer out there then?

Captain RUBLEY. I thought at that time that it might be a good idea.

Mr. CASEY. Will you ask the witness whether it was the Harvard Medical School or Harvard College that he attended in 1921?

Mr. LYNCH. Which was it?

Captain RUBLEY. Medical College.

Mr. CASEY. Now, will you inquire as to the college?

Mr. LYNCH. How about the college? Did you have any contact with Harvard College?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. CASEY. What college did you go to before you went to Harvard Medical School?

Captain RUBLEY. University of Michigan.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, what about the statement that you make in this letter, Captain:

The Wayne County Medical Society is so full of Jews and politicians that they are holding the prices beyond the reach of the ordinary person.

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Was that true or not?

Captain RUBLEY. That was true.

Mr. LYNCH. What is true?

Captain RUBLEY. It is true. It was true then, and it is still true. It was when I left. It was loaded up with Jews, and they are controlling the medical practice there in Detroit.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you become a member of the Medical Society there?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you attempt to?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Voorhis.

Mr. VOORHIS. Where was this organizer supposed to come from?

Mr. LYNCH. To Detroit.

Mr. VOORHIS. Yes; but from where?

Mr. LYNCH. From the Silver Legion.

Captain RUBLEY. So far as I know no one ever came.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that Mr. Voorhis is now present. At the beginning of today's hearing there was an announcement that this was a subcommittee of Mr. Casey, Mr. Thomas and the chairman. It is now a subcommittee composed of Mr. Voorhis, Mr. Casey, Mr. Thomas, and the chairman.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, when you speak about this membership of "50,000 within a month" of October 20, 1933, what was the basis of your statement that you were going to have 50,000 members?

Captain RUBLEY. Not that I was going to have them.

Mr. LYNCH. The Klan was going to have them and you "would be working very closely with them."

Captain RUBLEY. That is the report that these men gave me that came in and tried to solicit my membership.

Mr. LYNCH. And you don't know their names?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. And you mean to say that you were writing to some one and giving them facts on some statements made by two persons whose names you don't even know?

Captain RUBLEY. That is just hearsay—that is all they said.

Mr. LYNCH. You did not make this as hearsay?

Captain RUBLEY. What?

Mr. LYNCH. "The plan is growing with unbelievable rapidity."

Captain RUBLEY. That is what they told me.

Mr. LYNCH. You did not say "I am advised" or "two unidentified persons whose names I did not even learn told me that they were growing rapidly?"

Captain RUBLEY. I should have said that but I didn't.

Mr. LYNCH. What did you mean by "I am working very closely with them." Were you working very closely with them or not?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Then that was an untruthful statement?

Captain RUBLEY. That was an—that was an exaggeration because I never worked with the Klan.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you, as a matter of fact, had a number of associates there in Detroit who were in the National Guard, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And you had a number of friends who were officers just like you were?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you met with them quite often, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Every week.

The CHAIRMAN. And did you discuss this situation with them?

Captain RUBLEY. No; not in the—

The CHAIRMAN. Formally or informally?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You never did discuss this with any of your fellow officers?

Captain RUBLEY. Discuss what?

The CHAIRMAN. The threat of a revolution in Detroit, and your statements with reference to the Jews and Catholics?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I never discussed that with any of the officers.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever hear them express similar views?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. You were alone in the proposition?

Captain RUBLEY. Very much alone in that attitude.

The CHAIRMAN. Were they ever interested in the Silver Legion?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know any of them as being members of the Silver Legion?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were any of them interested in the Ku Klux Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir; not that I know of.

Mr. VOORHIS. In other words, your fellow officers that you met with, so far as you know, none of them sympathized with the views you had?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir. I never discussed my views with any of the officers.

Mr. LYNCH. Was there anyone there in Detroit that was particularly active in this work that you knew of except Mr. Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. He wasn't in Detroit.

Mr. LYNCH. I know, but outside of Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. State that question again.

Mr. LYNCH. Was there anyone else that was active in this work?

Captain RUBLEY. There was a woman there.

Mr. LYNCH. What was her name?

Captain RUBLEY. Frances Bacon, as I recall.

Mr. LYNCH. Wasn't it Catherine Bacon?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; I guess that is what it was.

Mr. LYNCH. What about the Silver Rangers? Were you interested in that idea?

Captain RUBLEY. Oh, that was a still more fantastic proposition.

Mr. LYNCH. What was the Silver Rangers?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know exactly now. It slipped my mind.

Mr. LYNCH. What?

Captain RUBLEY. I say it slipped my mind now about what they were.

Mr. LYNCH. Wasn't that the cavalry in Pelley's outfit?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't imagine it was.

Mr. LYNCH. You know it was; let us be truthful.

Captain RUBLEY. It slipped my mind. It is so long ago that some of these things are hazy in my mind.

Mr. LYNCH. That is your signature, is it not? [Handing letter to Captain Rubley.]

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. You signed yourself, "Captain S. J. Rubley, U. S. A., M. C., 1400 Strathmore, Detroit, Michigan," signed in ink and dated October 17, 1933. The letter was addressed from the Strathmore address to Mr. Summerville. The first sentence of that letter is: "The last Liberation begins to talk my language." Can you recall what that language was? "The idea of the Silver Rangers is a CAPITAL idea," "capital" in all caps. Do you remember seeing that?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Sir?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't remember seeing that.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

I wish my house was in order that I might join them at once but it is not. By the same token I feel that I am in a field that needs me more than the Southwest.

What did you mean by "the Southwest"?

Captain RUBLEY. Give me a little time to think. That is all so hazy in my mind. I have almost forgotten about it.

Mr. LYNCH. Maybe I can refresh your recollection. They were very active in Oklahoma at that time and there were letters to you concerning this matter of possibly going out there with them to work in Oklahoma. Does that refresh your recollection?

Captain RUBLEY. Faintly.

Mr. LYNCH. They had written to you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; I think they tried to get me to go there. I don't recall.

Mr. LYNCH. What did they want you to do in Oklahoma?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Wasn't there a discussion about taking over the State government?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You are sure of that?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall anything like that.

Mr. LYNCH. There was never a discussion about taking over the State government of Oklahoma?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

Catherine Bacon is enthusiastic and so am I but our efforts appear futile. I have contacted the leader of the Klan, Mr. Weber, and he is doing a real work.

What is Mr. Weber's first name?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you know a Mr. Weber?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that was what I have been trying to rack my brain all the way in here about, who this Weber was.

Mr. CASEY. Was he an Army officer?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, if he was with the Klan he wasn't an Army officer.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you know a Weber who was a major in the Army?

Captain RUBLEY. Oh, yes. Our commanding officer in the One hundred and sixth Cavalry was Harold T. Weber.

The CHAIRMAN. He was your commanding officer?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you knew him quite well?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Do you know any other Weber?

Captain RUBLEY. I can't recall. That is what I am trying to do. From what the papers said the other day apparently there was another Weber and I can't recall who that man was.

Mr. LYNCH. How does that Weber spell his name that you knew?

Captain RUBLEY. W-e-b-e-r.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, is Weber still the commanding officer of that organization?

Captain RUBLEY. As far as I know he was when I left Detroit.

The CHAIRMAN. You haven't seen him in a year?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you intimate with him?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, as one officer to another—as a medical officer to the commanding officer of the regiment.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever express your views to him on the Jewish question?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. About the Jews?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or about the Catholics?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever talk to him about the Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you ever talk to him about the Silver Legion or the Silver Rangers or the Silver Shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he know Pelley?

Captain RUBLEY. Not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he know Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he know Summerville?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you cannot recall any other Weber that you knew?

Captain RUBLEY. I cannot recall any other Weber. In the telegram that was handed to me night before last it brought up another Weber, and I know it wasn't Colonel Weber, but I cannot recall any other Weber that I was associated with or knew.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, you heard this fellow lecture one night. Does that refresh your recollection? That was in October 1933. Did you ever attend a lecture given by Colonel Weber?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever attend a lecture given by any Weber?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall that I ever did. It has slipped my mind completely.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, you say here—

the lecture he—

referring to Weber—

gave Saturday night was taken almost entirely from Liberation and from private correspondence I have received from Lawrence Brown Sunday afternoon. The Klan ought to hold a closed meeting and start a drive for 10,000 membership.

You had notice of that closed meeting, hadn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Apparently I did or I would not have mentioned it.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, does the fact of the lecture which was "taken almost entirely from Liberation by Weber" refresh your recollection as to who he was?

Captain RUBLEY. I can't recall. Apparently he must have been an organizer that was there. Now, I don't know who he was or anything about him. It has slipped my mind.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you talked to Colonel Weber, the commanding officer, since you left Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not talk to him yesterday?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Or day before yesterday?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have never had any conversation with him about any matter for a year?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir. I will take that back. There was a property adjustment when I gave up my medical detachment there. There was some correspondence which lasted over 3 or 4 months.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, when you first received information about these letters you got that from newspapers, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And that was day before yesterday?

Captain RUBLEY. I think it was yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the newspaper reporters call you up?

Captain RUBLEY. They did; they came out to the house.

The CHAIRMAN. And you gave out a statement? Now, did Colonel Weber contact you or did you contact him after this came out in the papers?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did anyone else contact you except newspaper reporters?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you contacted any Weber since you were advised of the testimony here the other day?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, you say after the 10,000 membership—

there is no doubt they will succeed. Out of that number there ought to be picked a number that ought to be turned over to me for military drill and training and from them I will pick about 50 and drill them during the winter in equitation.

Did you have such plans as that?

Captain RUBLEY. That was just a passing fancy.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you select 50?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you select any?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you attend that proposed meeting?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. At which they were to start a membership drive?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. You were just deliberately misleading him in this, weren't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I did not attend the meeting.

Mr. LYNCH. No, no. Now, wait a minute, Captain. It is either one way or the other. Either this was true or it was a deliberate misleading of Summerville, was it not?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And which was it?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I would say it was an error on my part.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

I have entree to a stable of about 30 mounts that would be suitable for training purposes.

Did you have entree to a stable of about 30 mounts?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Then that was true, wasn't it?

Captain RUBLEY. That was true.

Mr. LYNCH. So that ties in the fact of the drill in equitation, does it not?

Captain RUBLEY. I could have.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

My pet dreams since reading the last Liberation is to organize an S. S. Ranger troop or squadron and supplement the mounted police during the coming turmoil.

What did you mean by "the coming turmoil"?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that was some more of that alarmist revolution that I just got fed up on.

Mr. LYNCH. That S. S. means Silver Shirt Rangers, I suppose?

Captain RUBLEY. I suppose so.

Mr. CASEY. Do these Silver Shirt Rangers ride all-white horses?

Captain RUBLEY. What?

Mr. CASEY. Have all the Silver Rangers white horses?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know.

Mr. CASEY. I was just thinking in my mind about Hi Ho Silver, and I wondered if it had any connection. It is all fantastic.

Captain RUBLEY. One is about as fantastic as the other.

Mr. LYNCH. Had you made any contact with anybody with reference to the mounted police, or not?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Have you any correspondence with them other than about the mounted police?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You say further:

There are numerous large stables near Detroit's west side that can accommodate a troop of cavalry.

Was there large stables that would accommodate a troop of cavalry?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And did you plan to organize a troop of cavalry?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Then what did you mean by saying that?

Captain RUBLEY. I said it could have been done.

Mr. LYNCH. Was there any further correspondence about it?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

Pasture will be available for the summer months and many of them have housing facilities for a sufficient stable guard. If men with funds could be contacted and would underwrite such a company I could organize and drill them and look after their general health. At this time of the year the price of mounts is cheap because many owners do not care to winter them over, and in Indiana and Kentucky and Tennessee I understand they are much cheaper than they are about here.

Had you made any investigation as to the price and availability of mounts in those States?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Where did you get that information?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, it is general information.

Mr. LYNCH. If it is general information, did you know it to be correct?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I never made any definite investigation. It was my opinion that that was true at that time.

Mr. LYNCH. Was there a Colonel Hadley in your outfit in the National Guard?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you know Colonel Hadley?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. What?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. You say here:

I have a letter this morning from Lieutenant Colonel Hadley, of the Paul Revere, at 120 South La Salle Street, Chicago, that says they have no chapter here.

Who is Colonel Hadley?

Captain RUBLEY. He must have been someone with the Paul Revere organization.

Mr. LYNCH. His initials are E. M. Hadley. Does that mean anything to you?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you get a letter from him?

Captain RUBLEY. Apparently I did if I say I did.

Mr. LYNCH. You say:

The Klan seems to be the shock troops at present, but I feel they can be depended upon to hold the line until the Silver Shirts and the Paul Reverses get mobilized.

What line did you mean by that?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, at that time we were looking for the anticipated, more or less, of a communistic overthrow or uprising there.

Mr. LYNCH. Go ahead.

Captain RUBLEY. And it was my opinion that the plan, from what these men, these organizers, had said to me while they were trying to get me to join, that they were ready to mobilize at any time.

Mr. LYNCH. How often did these organizers call upon you?

Captain RUBLEY. Oh, I don't know. Probably once a week or twice a week.

Mr. LYNCH. Over what period of time—what length of time?

Captain RUBLEY. I would say a month.

Mr. LYNCH. And you did not know their names?

Captain RUBLEY. Not all of them came—they weren't the same men all the time.

Mr. LYNCH. They were different men all the time?

Captain RUBLEY. Practically.

Mr. VOORHIS. Didn't you ask them their names? Didn't you try to find out who they were?

Captain RUBLEY. I probably did know their names at that time but it slipped my mind now. I did not make any notation of it. They undoubtedly did introduce themselves.

Mr. LYNCH. While you were writing to Mr. Summerville and writing to Commander Pelley, didn't you think it was important to give them the names of the men who would be supporting him?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. And his Silver Shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. I did not give him any names.

Mr. LYNCH. Sir?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I did not give him any names that I can recall.

Mr. CASEY. Were these men also Klan organizers? Were these men who called on you Klan organizers?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir. They were just like any other person trying to get up a membership. Naturally, they wanted men who had had some training.

Mr. CASEY. And they were seeking memberships for the Ku Klux Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. They were seeking membership in the Klan. They were trying to get me to join the Klan.

Mr. CASEY. And were they also seeking membership for Silver Shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. CASEY. These men had no connection with the Silver Shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. CASEY. The Klansmen?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. What did they have connection with?

Mr. CASEY. The Klan, isn't that right?

Captain RUBLEY. I can't hear you.

Mr. CASEY. The Ku Klux Klan, you said?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; the Ku Klux Klan.

Mr. VOORHIS. You mean the organizers were from the Ku Klux Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. They talked against the Jews and Catholics, didn't they?

Captain RUBLEY. They talked about everything, I guess.

Mr. LYNCH. Didn't they talk about that that you remember?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. You approved of all of this work of Pelley and Summerville, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. At that time I was—for a short time I approved of it but I soon got to the point where I did not approve of it.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever so advise them that you did not approve of it?

Captain RUBLEY. No; not in so many words.

Mr. LYNCH. How did you happen to get in touch with Colonel Hadley of the Paul Revere in Chicago?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know unless it was through something that was sent to me at that time. We were being circularized with everything there was. A lot of it—that is, most of it went into the wastebasket.

Mr. LYNCH. You don't mean to tell this committee, do you, Captain Rubley, that you just happened to get correspondence from Colonel Hadley without any prior correspondence or introduction to him?

Captain RUBLEY. (No answer.)

Mr. LYNCH. You had some contact with him, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. No; not that I recall. I might have written one letter to him or two letters at the outside, but as to how I got introduced to this Colonel Hadley, I do not know.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you recall receiving a reply from Mr. Summerville to your letter that was just read to you?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I would say that he answered it but I don't recall the letter.

Mr. LYNCH. I will show you this letter and ask you to identify it and then I shall offer it for the record. Is that the reply you received to your letter of the 17th?

(Handing letter to Captain Rubley.)

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that is it. You see I am not denying this, but it is—

Mr. LYNCH. Well, it was addressed to you and refers to your letter of the 17th and your letter is dated the 17th, isn't it?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. There would be a hook-up there then.

Mr. LYNCH. And from the context, would you say it was a reply to your letter that you received?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. I would like to offer this as a part of the record in this hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received as a part of the record.

(The letter referred to by Mr. Lynch was made a part of the record.)

ASHEVILLE, N. C., October 19, 1933.

Captain S. J. RUBLEY, U. S. A., M. C.,

14000 Strathmore, Detroit, Mich.

DEAR CAPTAIN RUBLEY: Your letter of October 17th this instant received.

I heartily approve of what you say with regard to the effectiveness of the Klan organization and the Paul Revere organization paralleling Silver Shirt work. It is the ultimate principles for which we are working and it is a testimony of the breadth and depth of the true knowledge motivating this campaign, that we can see this clearly.

However, I would make it mighty hot for the leader of the Klan in Detroit if he is using Liberation material and not giving credit where credit belongs. Emphatically, Captain Rubley, there is no organization that is as much on the firing line as we are, or working as intensely with espionage officers who are daily digging up information for us at possible sacrifice of their own lives. And when the people actually get aroused there will be only one leadership that may serve to keep the minds of the people into clear channels of constructive action, avoiding the pitfalls of varied human leadership, and that motivation is the Spirit of the Christ. This battle is a division of the Anti-Christ as against the Christ.

I shall look forward toward hearing from you in connection with my previous letter, and by heaven, make it hot for that Klan leader.

Sincerely and fraternally,

RCS/MBW

ROBERT C. SUMMERVILLE.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever work with any of the, or contact any of the, officers of the National Guard or the Army with regard to finding out secrets for this organization?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. What did Mr. Summerville mean when he said:

emphatically, Captain Rubley, there is no organization that is as much on the firing line as we are, or working so extensively with espionage officers who are daily digging up information for us at a possible sacrifice of their own lives.

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know what he means there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, weren't you concerned about that statement of his?

Captain RUBLEY. I wasn't trying to run headquarters. That was their affair down there.

Mr. VOORHIS. I know; but he says he is carrying on espionage activities and so on. I should think you would have been concerned about that.

Captain RUBLEY. I did not concern myself with that at all.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever refer the matter of the revolution that you thought was practically at hand in the fall of 1933 to the State officials of Michigan or to the Federal officials of the United States Government?

Captain RUBLEY. I think I wrote one letter to General Wilson; yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Who is General Wilson?

Captain RUBLEY. He was a major general of the Thirty-second Division.

Mr. LYNCH. Of what?

Captain RUBLEY. Michigan National Guard. And I talked to Colonel Cole of a Reserve unit there in Detroit, and he gave me some literature to send to Major General Wilson.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever get a reply to that?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. What did he say?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever talk to your own commanding officer about the matter?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever refer it to any of the Federal authorities?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Was there ever any training of anyone actively, Captain?

Captain RUBLEY. What do you mean by that?

Mr. LYNCH. This movement of the Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Or the Silver Rangers?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. LYNCH. Or the United States Rangers?

Captain RUBLEY. So far as I know it was all paper work.

Mr. LYNCH. Were there riots up in Detroit in October and the first part of November in 1933?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I don't recall of those dates. I would probably be safe in saying there were. There was trouble there most of the time.

Mr. LYNCH. You recall you said you had only been in Detroit about a month or so in October of 1933? Do you recall that there were riots within a month or 6 weeks after your arrival?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall necessarily. There might have been and might not have been. There was trouble most of the time there in Detroit for a while, and there still is.

Mr. LYNCH. I will show you another letter dated October 31, 1933, purporting to be signed by you and I will ask you if that is your signature? [Handing letter to Captain Rubley.]

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Partly in typewriting and partly in longhand. I will offer that for the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be received.

(The letter referred to by Mr. Lynch was made a part of the record.)

(Handwritten): 60.7.20. C-8220. R. C. S. & H. F. S. No Ans.

DETROIT, MICH., Oct. 31, 1933.

Weekly Letter to General Headquarters on conditions in Detroit.

(Stamped): Nov. 2, 1933.

DEAR SIRS. Yesterday saw seven distinct riots, broken windows by the hundreds, overturned and burned automobiles, several injuries, and scores of burned blue prints worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. The attackers worked under the guise of strikers, but the head of the striking organization deny any part in the demonstration. The rioters traveled quickly from one factory to another in large and expensive cars which could not possibly be owned by the poor strikers. One readily senses a communistic program. Police were lured far from the scenes of battle.

Papers report the town quiet today but fresh rioting may break out at any time.

Training of the volunteer Klan cavalry troop continues without interruption.

Local papers are beginning to yowl about freedom of the press, and to criticize the policies of the administration (who wouldn't) but it is just part of their propaganda to stir up the people and get them to thinking about a dictator.

"Ninety percent of the people of America are in the frame of mind for a dictator," etc ad nauseum.

Intelligence officer of the United States Army predicts war within 3 months, but does not say where.

The officers of the National Guard and the officers of the Reserves are as lethargic as the ordinary citizen, but none of them seem to think they would care to support the dictates of a Jewish dictator. Not one of the many officers I have talked with seem to be able to think in terms of a local revolution. The older they are in the service the dumber they get. What a gag, what a gang. . .

Sincerely,

SAMUEL J. RUBLEY.

(Samuel J. Rubley M. C? U. S. A.)

P. S.—Because of the lack of the Silver Shirt organization here I am working with the Klan. As soon as we can get a troop or squadron of "Rangers" here I'll transfer my energies to them, or at least divide my time. Am reserving 1 night a week for the 119 Amb C., 32 Div. The other nights go to who ever wants to learn to ride and handle a saber.

S. J. R.

Mr. LYNCH. I will ask you whether or not you sent regular, weekly letters to the general headquarters at Asheville?

Captain RUBLEY. We were corresponding there for a while.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, I am asking you if you sent regular, weekly letters?

Captain RUBLEY. I imagine I did write once a week.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you entitle them "Weekly Letters to General Headquarters on Conditions In Detroit"?

Captain RUBLEY. I might have—I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you have a file of your correspondence in this activity?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. What did you do with it?

Captain RUBLEY. Destroyed it.

Mr. LYNCH. When?

Captain RUBLEY. When I moved from Strathmore.

Mr. LYNCH. This letter referred to, says, "I saw automobiles overturned and burned, seven distinct riots and blueprints worth hundreds of thousands of dollars." What blueprints did you mean?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall. Probably in connection with automobile factories, but I don't recall that.

Mr. LYNCH. Doesn't that sentence refresh your recollection as to the riots?

Captain RUBLEY. Probably the clipping is taken from a newspaper.

Mr. LYNCH. This is your own statement to them in writing. It is in your letter to them.

Captain RUBLEY. I did not see any riots there.

Mr. LYNCH. Well, then that was a deliberate misstatement, wasn't it, when you say you saw automobiles overturned and burned and seven distinct riots, and blueprints worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

Captain RUBLEY. That is what I am trying to think.

Mr. LYNCH. See if this refreshes your recollection:

The attackers worked under the guise of strikers, but the head of the striking organizations denied any part in the demonstration. The rioters travelled quickly from one factory to another in large and expensive cars, which could

not possibly be owned by the poor strikers. One readily sensed a communistic program. The police were lured far from the scenes of battle.

What about that?

Captain RUBLEY. That was—I can't—I can't recall exactly what—what—what that was, except it was—there was a strike among the automobile factories there; I don't recall.

Mr. LYNCH. A matter as serious as you describe it here and you cannot recall it now at all?

Captain RUBLEY. I did not see it. I know that I got that out of the newspapers. I did not see it.

Mr. LYNCH. When you say "yesterday I saw several——"

Captain RUBLEY. "Yesterday saw them." I did not say I saw them.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, in this next paragraph you tell what the papers say about it: "Papers report that the town is quiet today but fresh rioting may break out at any time." The fact that you say in the second paragraph: "Papers report," and the first paragraph indicates that at least by inference, you saw or had personal knowledge of it.

Captain RUBLEY. Doesn't it say "yesterday saw"?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes.

Captain RUBLEY. I did not say that I saw it.

Mr. LYNCH. You have no recollection now of those riots?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, I do.

Mr. LYNCH. What were they?

Captain RUBLEY. Automobile disturbances.

Mr. LYNCH. Automobile workers?

Captain RUBLEY. Or workers.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you think it was a communistic program?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, the next paragraph: "Training of the Volunteer Klan Cavalry troop continues without interruption." What does that mean?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know what it means.

Mr. LYNCH. Was there a troop of cavalry volunteers?

Captain RUBLEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. LYNCH. Is there anything more fantastic than this letter of yours, Captain, in the Pelley Liberation and other papers?

Captain RUBLEY. It ranks well with the rest of the Liberation stuff.

Mr. CASEY. What was the purpose behind these fantastic detailed pictures that you have drawn?

(No answer.)

Mr. CASEY. Were you all right, during that period?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I doubt it. I doubt my own sanity at that time now that I read the things. I am as skeptical as you are.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask a question?

Mr. LYNCH. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Captain, you told in that previous letter that counsel read, where you told about where you could get horses and all the details of the thing, then you come along with another letter and say the thing is going along according to schedule and everything like that. Now, was that all a figment of your imagination—

all those things? I mean, it seems to me, it was rather well worked out.

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I don't know that. I don't recall having any contact with training—any plans—here is the way it worked.

Mr. VOORHIS. But it says so here and that is what worries me.

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I might have jumped at conclusions.

Mr. VOORHIS. But isn't it a question of what you were doing yourself, Captain?

Captain RUBLEY. Let me explain. I had contact with this one riding stable and I taught equitation there. They would call up and say that there is a class to be taught and I would go out and give the instruction in equitation. As I recall, there was one class of say 20 men that were different than the rest of them, and that might have been what I referred to.

Mr. VOORHIS. How were they different?

Captain RUBLEY. What?

Mr. VOORHIS. How were they different?

Captain RUBLEY. They looked different, and they acted different from the rest of them. They were of the type that I had been used to instruct. They came out twice.

Mr. VOORHIS. Who were they?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know. I didn't pay any attention to them.

Mr. VOORHIS. You told us they were different than the others. How were they different?

Captain RUBLEY. They were dressed differently. They had no riding habits, and they weren't dressed like the rest of the people were.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were they the troops that you spoke of in the second letter?

Captain RUBLEY. Might have been that that I referred to. They came out twice.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were they in fact a troop that you were training for these purposes?

Captain RUBLEY. I can't hear you.

Mr. VOORHIS. Were they in fact a troop that you were training for the purposes stated in your letter?

Captain RUBLEY. It must have been that that I referred to.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then this was the group that you were training for these purposes—to be cavalry troops?

Captain RUBLEY. But I did not know them to be definitely members of the Klan.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you thought they were?

Captain RUBLEY. I thought they were probably, but they had made their own arrangements with the stable, and I was just called out there to give instructions, and I took it that they might have been Klansmen.

Mr. VOORHIS. And evidently you were not averse to it?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, I was getting compensation.

The CHAIRMAN. How many were there?

Captain RUBLEY. I would say 20, and they came out twice.

The CHAIRMAN. They took two lessons in riding?

Captain RUBLEY. Two lessons; yes. That was all.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you were making these regular reports to Pelley, and Pelley was predicating some of his articles on the strength of these reports, was he not? I mean this is a typical example of how Pelley got a great deal of his information?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall that he based any articles on my information.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, didn't you read thereafter about the situation in Detroit in Pelley's Liberation?

Captain RUBLEY. Other people might have been writing in too. This Frances Bacon had much closer contact there than I did. I saw her twice.

The CHAIRMAN. You were instructed to send in reports, weren't you, or asked to do it by Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. I can't hear you.

The CHAIRMAN. I say, Brown asked you to send in regular reports, didn't he? He asked you to keep the General informed of what was going on in the country?

(No answer.)

The CHAIRMAN. Wasn't that the purpose of your sending them in?

Captain RUBLEY. Somewhat.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, the general, General Pelley, wanted to know what was going on in the country?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And he had men all over the country sending him in reports like yours?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Then, of course, the General would issue his Liberation based upon these reports that he had?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there any wonder in your mind that the Liberation was fantastic?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Captain, in other words you were a captain in the National Guard at this time but you were sending in reports to the wrong general, weren't you?

(No answer.)

Mr. VOORHIS. I mean as a matter of fact weren't you doing that and wasn't that pretty seamy for you to be doing a thing like that?

Captain RUBLEY. I can't hear you there is so much confusion.

Mr. VOORHIS. I say, wasn't that a pretty cheap thing for you to be doing at that time when you were a captain in the National Guard?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes sir. I am ashamed. I am thoroughly ashamed of my activities at that time, and I go on record saying that I am.

Mr. VOORHIS. When did you stop completely anything of that kind—how long ago?

Captain RUBLEY. I haven't had any correspondence with Pelley for 5 years, I would say.

Mr. LYNCH. You also say in this letter:

Ninety percent of the people of America are in the frame of mind for a dictator.

Did you really think that Pelley or someone he would nominate would become a dictator?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I don't think that at all.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you think that the country was ready for a dictator at that time?

Captain RUBLEY. They were definitely ready for something at that time, from the attitude of the people I talked to in Detroit.

Mr. CASEY. What time was that?

Captain RUBLEY. In 1933.

Mr. LYNCH. You also say that intelligence officers of the United States Army predict war within 3 months but do not say where.

The officers of the National Guard and the officers of the Reserve are as lethargic as the ordinary citizen, but none of them seem to think they would care to support the dictates of a Jewish dictator. Not one of the many officers I have talked with seems to be able to think in terms of local revolution. The older they are in the service the dumber they get—what a gag! What a gang!

Now, what about these officers? Did you really talk to officers or not?

Captain RUBLEY. I never talked to officers about the Silver Shirt organization.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever talk to officers about the Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you ever talk to officers about a revolution?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall that I ever did. Although there were at that time, there was at that time considerable agitation in Detroit.

Mr. LYNCH. What about the support of a Jewish dictator?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I never talked to them about that.

Mr. LYNCH. What is the One Hundred and Nineteenth Ambulance Corps, Thirty-second Division? Is that the one you were attached to?

Captain RUBLEY. At that time, yes. I had command of the ambulance company.

Mr. LYNCH. You were giving one night a week to the ambulance company, weren't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Do you remember saying in this same letter, in handwriting:

I am reserving one night a week for the 119 Ambulance Company, 32nd Division. The other nights I go to whoever wants to learn to ride and handle the saber.

What about that. That is pretty harsh language, Captain. What did you mean by that?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that hooks right up with the riding classes that I had. We never used a saber though. There were none available.

Mr. VOORHIS. But you said these fellows showed up only twice?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; but I had other classes.

The CHAIRMAN. On other nights?

Captain RUBLEY. On other nights; yes.

Mr. CASEY. This was what is known as vocal saber rattling. It never got beyond the vocal stage.

Captain RUBLEY. That is right; just paper talk.

The CHAIRMAN. Captain, frankly, what was the situation? Were you trying to drum up your business and make some money out of it? Did you see an opportunity to make some money from these fellows or was it a case that you were trying to send Pelley the stuff that Pelley wanted? What was the real low-down on it?

Captain RUBLEY. I never got anything from this. I never got any financial returns from these reports.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you expect to get some from these riding classes?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. You were trying to build up some business along that line, is that it?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not particularly care about anything about the Klan except as you saw an opportunity to make some money?

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That is the truth about it?

Captain RUBLEY. That is the truth of it.

The CHAIRMAN. And the truth about it is you were sending this stuff to Pelley for the same purposes, weren't you?

Captain RUBLEY. For the same purposes?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean sending these reports to Pelley and naturally Pelley would encourage his followers and the Klan and so forth, to send you business, is that right?

Captain RUBLEY. No; not that I know of.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you have given an explanation why you wanted to get these fellows out and let you be the instructor. I am trying to get the explanation as to why you would send these reports to Pelley. Was it at the request of Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Brown told you that he wanted these reports?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. He said he thought they would be valuable at Asheville.

The CHAIRMAN. Valuable for them in editing the Liberation?

Captain RUBLEY. I imagine so; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And also in passing information along to other people?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I mean after Pelley got the reports from you from Detroit he would pass that information on to people in North Carolina or South Carolina, or wherever he had groups, and those people would have an idea about what was going on in Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. I imagine that is what he did. I don't know. I never followed it up.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, don't you see the dangerous implication?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; I do now. Surely I see it.

The CHAIRMAN. This stuff you put in the hands of a man who used it as facts, and many people who were not acquainted with the true situation would naturally be misled.

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And from his publications they would think that Detroit was about to have a revolution.

Captain RUBLEY. And a lot of us thought that at the time, too.

The CHAIRMAN. You were having considerable trouble in Detroit at the time?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. There was a lot of trouble and I was also in Flint in 1936, when we had plenty of trouble there.

Mr. CASEY. And you put in your letter the name of "Weber," and you say the only Weber that you know was the commanding officer of the regiment that you were in? If that is true you were bringing some innocent people into the picture.

Captain RUBLEY. I can't recall who Weber was, where he came from or anything about him; I don't recall.

Mr. CASEY. Have you a picture of a man named "Weber" at all in your mind?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I can't. I know it was not Colonel Weber.

Mr. CASEY. You know definitely it was not Colonel Weber?

Captain RUBLEY. I know definitely it was not Harold T. Weber of the One Hundred and Sixth Cavalry. Where the other Weber comes in, I can't remember.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever send Pelley or his organization any money?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. CASEY. Did you ever collect any money for him?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Does he use the words "Harold T. Weber" in any of his letters?

Mr. LYNCH. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the record show a Weber who is connected with the Silver Shirts? Wasn't there some evidence here of a Weber being connected with the Silver Shirts? Did you know a Weber connected with the Silver Shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. No, I don't; and I don't know any Weber connected with anything. That is what I was trying to remember.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, was Mr. Pelley collecting money from people in Detroit at that time?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he ever get any of your money?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Did he ever give you any money?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Where were you located before you came to Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. I was at Sturgis for just a short time.

Mr. LYNCH. And you took up and gave a history in one of your letters of the fact that you left Sturgis, didn't you? Do you remember that?

Captain RUBLEY. I left Sturgis; yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And you told them of that fact, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall.

Mr. LYNCH. I will show you your letter dated September 30. Would that be about the time you left Sturgis?

Captain RUBLEY. Just a little bit after.

Mr. LYNCH. This is your signature, isn't it?

(Handing letter to Captain Rubley.)

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Dated September 30, 1933, and addressed to Liberation and general—general G. H. Q.—of the Silver Shirts. That is general headquarters?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. That is the way you use it in the Army, isn't it: "G. H. Q." for general headquarters?

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. And you say in this letter: "I am in close contact with a large number of Army officers here and am cultivating their friendship all I can." Was that true or not?

Captain RUBLEY. Naturally.

Mr. LYNCH. It was true?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And why were you cultivating their friendship?

Captain RUBLEY. It was because I wanted to get transferred from the One Hundred and Nineteenth Ambulance Company at Monroe to the One Hundred and Sixth Cavalry. That is why. I wanted to get the change and save about 80 miles of driving once a week.

Mr. CASEY. Isn't the implication rather plain there that you were cultivating their friendship for the purpose of having them become members of the Silver Shirts or the Klan?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

Mr. CASEY. If you wanted to be transferred from one place to another, you would not need to cultivate the acquaintance of a great many officers?

Mr. VOORHIS. And certainly would not need to tell Summerville about that.

Captain RUBLEY. I never talked—what you are trying to do is hook up this friendship with the Silver Shirts; is that right?

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, I don't know.

The CHAIRMAN. Read the letter and let us see the expression there.

Mr. LYNCH. I will read the entire letter.

Captain RUBLEY. All right.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

Please note the change of address from Sturgis, Michigan, to Detroit.

That is the first sentence. Now, have you been in contact with them from Sturgis before you went to Detroit?

Captain RUBLEY. Apparently.

Mr. LYNCH. Is that correct or not?

Captain RUBLEY. Apparently it is correct.

Mr. LYNCH. All right (reading):

I wish to call to the attention of the editor of Liberation to pages 2 and 3. The most international organization outside of the bankers was omitted. That was the Rotary International. I have been a Rotarian for several years and last year was elected President of the Sturgis Club.

Is that correct?

Mr. CASEY. What is that?

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

I have been a Rotarian for several years and last year was elected President of the Sturgis Club, but was glad to give it up when I moved to Detroit.

In all my joining I never entered a more useless and emasculated outfit than that.

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. You wanted something with fire and pep, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. At that time; yes.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

I went to particular pains to tell them what I thought of the club just before I left, and after the International Convention in Boston I wrote a criticism to the International Secretary at Chicago.

Captain RUBLEY. No; wait a minute. What time was that?

Mr. LYNCH. That you wrote to the Secretary at Chicago about the International Convention at Boston, is that correct?

Captain RUBLEY. I wasn't at Boston. There wasn't—wait a minute. Benton Harbor, wasn't it?

Mr. LYNCH. No; it says "Boston."

Captain RUBLEY. That is a misstatement then because there was no convention—I didn't attend a convention in Boston.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

The district governor and the field contact man made a special trip to Sturgis and interviewed all the members and were about ready to jump me when I beat them to the draw and announced I was resigning and leaving town.

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

I am in close contact with a large number of Army officers here and am cultivating their friendship all I can. I am also planning on spending one night a week downtown learning all I can and as interesting material appears I will send it to you. I wish to be kept "incogno."

You meant incognito?

Captain RUBLEY. That is a mistake. That is a typographical error.

Mr. LYNCH. And "until I get my bearings. I also find that the K. K. K.," that means "Ku Klux Klan"?

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

Is organized and active here?

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

Mr. LYNCH. Now, I will stop and ask you a question: Had you written from Sturgis about the activities of the Klan or not?

Captain RUBLEY. No. I did not know that Sturgis had a Klan.

Mr. LYNCH (reading):

I feel that they are doing a real work in breaking up communist meetings where police are too much hampered by politics to take care of them. They use a very effective method "P-elm clubs and hard knuckles."

What is a "P-elm club"?

Captain RUBLEY. That is an elm club.

Mr. LYNCH. You mean a night stick?

Captain RUBLEY. Night stick, I imagine.

Mr. LYNCH. And the "hard knuckles" are the brass knuckles?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know.

Mr. LYNCH. Were they the ones engaging in street fights with members of the Communist Party, to break up the meetings?

Captain RUBLEY. Partly were.

Mr. LYNCH. Did you know that?

Captain RUBLEY. No; except as the organizers would tell me.

Mr. LYNCH. The organizers were with you then in the latter part of September, weren't they?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. I can tell you how that contact was made.

Mr. LYNCH. How?

Captain RUBLEY. I was in an office with a dentist. We had a common waiting room, and some of his patients were Klansmen. Now, their names I can't remember—

Mr. LYNCH. Who was that dentist?

Captain RUBLEY. I prefer to keep his name quiet. He is not associated with this in any way.

Mr. LYNCH. All right.

Each Klansman figures he is equal to about five or six Reds. The members are wearing blue shirts.

Were they wearing blue shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes. They wore blue shirts for a while, I think.

Mr. LYNCH. And they would wear those at meetings, wouldn't they?

Captain RUBLEY. I suppose; yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And you saw them, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall that I did see them.

Mr. LYNCH. You were at some Klan meetings, weren't you?

Captain RUBLEY. I was at one Klan meeting.

Mr. LYNCH. Did they wear blue shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall that they did. Might have been a few that did have on blue shirts, but I don't recall.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Captain, as a matter of fact, didn't Brown tell you that Pelley wanted to build up a private military organization in the United States?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that his purpose for building it up was to combat communism?

Captain RUBLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. "Save the country from" he used the word "Jewish dictatorship."

Captain RUBLEY. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. And as a matter of fact Brown was very much interested in meeting as many Army officers as he could, wasn't he?

Captain RUBLEY. No. I don't think Brown ever met any Army officers.

The CHAIRMAN. But he was, and you know that Pelley was, very anxious to enlist the aid and sympathy of Army officers in the United States, didn't you?

Captain RUBLEY. I took it to be that; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And that as a matter of fact, and I think Mr. Pelley so stated himself in his book, or in one of the books that he wrote, that was read into the record, he wanted to build up this military, semimilitary organization throughout the country, and that was so represented to you by Brown?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. And your part in the affair was, since you were an Army officer and had training, was to train them in cavalry work, wasn't that about the substance of it?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, that is what was proposed but it just died a natural death. There was no activity on it at all.

The CHAIRMAN. But when you entered into that or consented to that, didn't you realize that you were a captain in the National Guard Medical Corps and that you had taken an oath of allegiance to the United States?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir; and I still have it.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you realize or have the idea that military organizations, private military organizations, were distinctly against

the interests of this country? Didn't you think that would be a very dangerous thing to build up?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, it could be but there was no activity on that for my part. I say as soon as I saw or got acquainted with it I dropped it.

The CHAIRMAN. Did they seek you out in the first instance or did you seek them out?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't recall who wrote the first letter. I think Lawrence Brown wrote the first letter to me.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you learn from Lawrence Brown that he was contacting other Army officers in the country?

Captain RUBLEY. No. He wasn't contacting others.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't you think it was strange that he contacted you?

Captain RUBLEY. No. Because Lawrence Brown and I were roommates in college. You see we had been friends for 25 years.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he ever in any military organization himself?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir. He was in the Navy, I think, during the war.

The CHAIRMAN. But you understood from Brown that the Klan was working with the Silver Shirts?

Captain RUBLEY. No; not necessarily.

The CHAIRMAN. How did you get the relationship between the two? You use the words "KKK" and "Silver Legion." It is all mixed up together. Didn't you think they were all working together?

Captain RUBLEY. No; I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. But you thought they had about the same aim?

Captain RUBLEY. About the same aims at that time; yes.

Mr. LYNCH. Isn't it true you were contacting these Army officers for the purposes indicated by the chairman's questions a moment ago?

Captain RUBLEY. In what way?

Mr. LYNCH. And Mr. Voorhis' questions, when you were contacting and making friends with as many Army officers as you could, as you say in your letter that we just referred to. Weren't you doing it for that purpose?

Captain RUBLEY. For what purpose?

Mr. LYNCH. For the purpose of enlisting them in case there was a revolution, or an attempt would be made to take over the Government?

Captain RUBLEY. No. I had reference there to the transfer that I wanted.

Mr. LYNCH. And you want the committee to believe that now, do you, Captain?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. That that is the reason you were contacting as many Army officers and cultivating their friendship all you could?

Captain RUBLEY. That is primarily it. I also contacted this Colonel Cole, who is intelligence officer of Detroit there.

Mr. VOORHIS. Well, Captain, I don't know anything about this, but is that a customary thing for a military man to do when he wants to effect a transfer?

Captain RUBLEY. Quite a bit; yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. Go around and make friends with a lot of other officers!

Captain RUBLEY. It is customary—certainly.

Mr. VOORHIS. That is the way they usually go about it?

Captain RUBLEY. Not necessarily; but in the National Guard, if Colonel Weber had not known me and I had made application for transfer, he probably would have pigeonholed my application.

Mr. VOORHIS. Then why did you write to the Silver Shirt people and tell them about that if that were the only reason you were doing it? What business was it of theirs?

Captain RUBLEY. It was none of their business.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, Captain, let us be perfectly frank about this thing.

Captain RUBLEY. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. You said that you knew from Brown that Pelley was interested in contacting as many Army officers as possible. Now, you had that information and you knew further and you have stated that what you wanted to do was build up as much business as you could. Now, wasn't that the purpose of that letter—to leave the impression with Pelley and that group that you were out contacting these Army officers for the purpose of interesting them in this same movement?

Captain RUBLEY. I never talked to these Army officers.

The CHAIRMAN. I am not asking you whether you talked to them, but wasn't that the purpose?

Captain RUBLEY. Possibly the purpose was to make him think that I had quite a wide range of friends.

Mr. VOORHIS. You knew, did you not, that one of the reasons why Pelley was interested in you was because you were an officer?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know as that was primarily the reason. I was just another member—a possible member, I mean.

Mr. VOORHIS. Didn't you ever think that one of the reasons he was interested in you was because you were an Army officer?

Captain RUBLEY. I don't know that exactly.

Mr. VOORHIS. Did you ever think that? Did that ever occur to you?

Captain RUBLEY. Well, it might have occurred as a fleeting fancy. It didn't make much headway.

Mr. LYNCH. Captain, I will show you a letter dated October 10, 1933. It is written in longhand, and it is purportedly signed by you. I will ask you if that is your signature [handing letter to Captain Rubley]?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir. That is my signature.

Mr. LYNCH. This letter is addressed to G. H. Q. That was the general headquarters of the Silver Legion, wasn't it?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes.

Mr. LYNCH. And in this letter, Mr. Chairman, he says—this letter is in longhand:

What can you tell me about the role the Army and Navy will play in the next government under Baruch, or, rather, dictator Baruch.

Referring to Barney Baruch, weren't you?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. LYNCH (reading) :

I feel this next Congress (?) will be the last one. What will be our next step as Army officers? Will the Army stay with the dictator or with the people.

Does that refresh your recollection, together with the questions of the chairman and Mr. Voorhis, that you were attempting to contact Army officers to get them to go with you?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH (reading) :

These are hard questions and I doubt if you will be able to answer them. But our time is short, but I feel someone should begin to think in terms of the change that is coming and not be caught napping \* \* \* Five studied the Russian revolution, and I feel that I have an understanding of what we are in for and I am anything but elated this morning. It is like watching an approaching cyclone.

Does that refresh your recollection that you were attempting to contact the members of the Army?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir.

Mr. LYNCH. Sir?

Captain RUBLEY. No, sir. We were apprehensive at that time, apparently unduly so because as I say I had had this communication with alarmists and absorbed too much of the alarm that they tried to spread.

Mr. VOORHIS. I am just wondering whether the captain thought he was going to allay this alarm by building up Mr. Pelley's forces. Did you think that was going to help allay the alarm of the country?

Captain RUBLEY. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you understand that question?

Captain RUBLEY. Yes; I answered him.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, step aside.

Our next witness is Mr. Hurley. Mr. Hurley, will you come around?

Do you swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HURLEY. I do.

## TESTIMONY OF GEORGE F. HURLEY, INVESTIGATOR FOR THE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. HURLEY. George F. Hurley.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the investigators for this committee?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hurley, did you have occasion a few days ago to obtain possession of certain records of the Communist Party in Philadelphia?

Mr. HURLEY. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you explain how you got possession of those records?

Mr. HURLEY. The records were obtained through a twofold procedure. No. 1 was a subpoena duces tecum issued by this committee for certain records of the Communist Party in Philadelphia, and also a search warrant which was obtained through one of the county magistrates. The police department of Philadelphia executed the search warrant. I in turn issued or served the subpoenas upon individuals in Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. In pursuance to the subpoena duces tecum and the search warrant, did you proceed to secure certain records of the party?

Mr. HURLEY. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You got rather complete records of the Communist Party, did you not?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you state what they consisted of?

Mr. HURLEY. The records consisted, in the main, part of the membership lists, account books, bank accounts, bank statements, miscellaneous files, election lists, party books, applications to the party, literature, and mailing lists. I might say for the record that a complete inventory has not been made at the present time but is in process.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, did the files of the Communist Party contain the names of sympathizers and contacts in and around the eastern division of Pennsylvania?

Mr. HURLEY. I might answer that question by stating that the mailing lists, of course, would reflect to a certain extent people in that category. And with regard to names appearing on other lists that fact would later be developed by running out the necessary leads.

The CHAIRMAN. Didn't the files contain a list of the International Workers?

Mr. HURLEY. The files of the International Workers were obtained at a different address from the party headquarters. They were obtained at 801 Locust Street, Philadelphia. The party headquarters is located at 250 Broad Street, Philadelphia.

The CHAIRMAN. And also among the files you obtained applications for placing Communist candidates upon the ticket?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. With the names of the original signatures of everyone who had signed a petition?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the files show also the names of certain people who were active in other organizations?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Such as the League of Women Shoppers?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And different organizations in and about that area?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. They are the names of those who are active in the organization?

Mr. HURLEY. That is true. That is, the party lists, themselves, to a certain extent.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, when you secured these records you brought them to the city of Washington?

Mr. HURLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. And those records now are in the possession of this committee?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. When the search warrant was issued by the local magistrate did he confer with the district attorney's office?

Mr. HURLEY. That is my understanding; yes, sir. I was not present at any time that he did so confer.

The CHAIRMAN. But you were so informed?

Mr. HURLEY. But I was so advised by the city magistrate or the county magistrate.

The CHAIRMAN. And after that conference with the district attorney's office the magistrate issued the order to seize the records, is that correct?

Mr. HURLEY. That is right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania?

Mr. HURLEY. That is right. The Pennsylvania Sedition Act.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recall anything else that you got from the files? Of course I realize the files are rather voluminous. But you secured certain files, didn't you?

Mr. HURLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. That were in possession of the party?

Mr. HURLEY. And which I understand will reflect certain party activities.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, the committee will receive in the record all of such evidence at this time, such evidence in full as taken from the records of the Communist Party, and they are hereby made a part of the committee's records to be made public by the committee probably beginning tomorrow. But the Chair wants the record to show that those records are now a part of this committee's records and have been received in evidence.

(The files and papers referred to by the chairman are made a part of the record.)

Now, likewise, you secured the files of the Communist Party at Boston, Mass.

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir; I did.

The CHAIRMAN. Under a subpoena duces tecum?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that with the consent of those in charge of the Communist Party headquarters at Boston?

Mr. HURLEY. It was, sir. I served a subpoena upon Mr. Frankfeld and also upon Miss Burlak, and in accordance with the terms of the subpoena they agreed that the records we took could be taken by us in compliance with the terms of the subpoena.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they voluntarily gave you the records?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct. We made up a list of the records so obtained. He kept a copy of it—Mr. Frankfeld, and I had a copy I made for our files and had those lists certified before a notary public in the city of Boston, Mass.

Mr. VOORHIS. May I ask one question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. VOORHIS. You stated the circumstances under which you secured this material in Philadelphia?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. VOORHIS. I would just like to ask you, for the record, whether in any other case in any other city or in any other place, whether the circumstances have ever been essentially different from what they were there?

Mr. HURLEY. Only to this extent, Congressman, that the committee has been in the habit of issuing subpoena duces tecum upon the persons who have charge of records in the various offices. The subpoena duces tecum have listed pretty thoroughly the information that the com-

mittee requires and requests. After that subpoena or that type of subpoena had been issued on three or four different offices we understood the instructions emanating from the headquarters of the Communist Party specifically stated that the subpoenas should not be complied with and that the persons upon whom the subpoenas were issued should refuse to produce them, stating that it was a violation of their constitutional rights, or whatever it might be—in order to protect their constitutional rights and in order to seize these records or get possession of them, in accordance with established legal procedure, we felt it necessary in the case in Philadelphia to secure the search warrant under the Pennsylvania statute.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hurley, I believe you said the Communist Party had recently issued instructions to all offices not to give this committee any of its records?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And to order them out of the office?

Mr. HURLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Among the records secured by you in Philadelphia, are a number of membership books?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you some of the books. Do you recognize these as being the books that were obtained at that time [showing Mr. Hurley a number of booklets]?

Mr. HURLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. I also show you as an example, the records kept with reference to members of the party who are active in other organizations. For instance, here is one: The League of Women Shoppers.

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. A card index giving the names of certain people?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A general description and they are now all a part of the record?

Mr. HURLEY. For example, under the category "League of Women Shoppers," are listed party members. I might mention the names of these three: Eve Bernoff, Elsie Lincoln, Harriett Erlich. At the top of the list is noted "party organizers," and stipulating that they are additional party members.

Another card reflects the fact—the category lists it as League of Women Shoppers, party organizers, sympathizers, party possibilities: "Pauline Miller, Sylvia Austro, and Mary Ways."

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me. You said "party organizers"? You mean party organization?

Mr. HURLEY. Party organization.

The CHAIRMAN. You don't have to give the names of the people at this time.

Mr. HURLEY. One card reflects the fact: "League of Women Shoppers fraction" and lists the members.

Mr. VOORHIS. Mr. Chairman, I want to try to understand. Are the people whose names appear on these cards considered members of the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. Members of the Communist Party.

Mr. VOORHIS. Is that indicated on the cards?

Mr. HURLEY. That is what is stated here. The cards speak for themselves. The League of Women Shoppers, the executive board, the chairman, the vice chairman, the executive secretary, the recording secretary, person in charge of publicity, and the person in charge of education.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, this card that you just mentioned shows the chairman fraction members, shows the vice chairman. There is no notation made after the vice chairman. Executive secretary is given and marked "fraction members"?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Publicity name is given and fraction members?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Education name is given and fraction members, showing that the executive board has the following people who are fraction members of the Communist Party, and hold official positions in the League for Women Shoppers. The purpose is to show that the Communist Party has a very accurate and full record of everybody in the party and where they are working, and what positions they hold in these various organizations, all of which has been denied heretofore.

Now, these Communist cards; for instance, I will show you one card numbered 112575, issued to a certain man, giving his name, and the State, his district, the city, the branch, the section, when the book was issued with the stamps on the back.

Mr. HURLEY. And I identify that as one of the books.

The CHAIRMAN. That is one of the books?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You testified all these were among the books, but I was particularly interested in their contents. Here is a number of pages that are apparently torn out of a membership book. Is that part of the record that you secured—are they a part of the records you secured?

Mr. HURLEY. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. Were those pages torn out when you secured the record?

Mr. HURLEY. At the time when the policy officer entered the headquarters at 250 Broad Street, several of the people present attempted to tear up quite a bit of information. I don't know whether or not that formed a part of it. It is reasonable to presume it did.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, this particular membership card is No. 108413. Then there is another membership card No. 111967.

In other words, the number of members in the party, so far as the records that we have here show, is in excess of 112,000?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether or not there is a card here that goes higher than that figure?

Mr. HURLEY. There is one here numbered 112965.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a book in which a membership name and first page has been torn out of.

Mr. HURLEY. We found several of those.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in every instance the blue sheet in the front of the book, which is to be sent to the branch, I see is torn off here.

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Here is a card numbered 111563, which is among the records that you obtained. I show you what is called "nomination paper"?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Sixteenth Representative District, Philadelphia, Philadelphia County, and giving the names of the people who signed the petition to get certain candidates on the ballot?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you recognize all of these nomination papers as being the papers that you obtained in the offices of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you here the record of the payment of dues. Did you obtain this in the files of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At the same time you got the other records?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, this shows the payment of dues for each week, I believe?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The initiation and then the payment of dues?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, are the branch numbers shown?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir. And I have that broken down in more detail, I believe, in another pamphlet.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I show you the receipt books. This gives the receipts of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. The carbon copy of the receipt—the original evidently is issued to the person who paid the money?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. This record you got also among the files of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. At Philadelphia?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you the cash book?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir. This book reflects the cash disbursements.

The CHAIRMAN. Of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. Of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Here are some more cash books.

Mr. HURLEY. This book represents the cash receipts of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I give you the weekly reports issued by the Communist Party of Pennsylvania or the City of Philadelphia.

Mr. HURLEY. The Philadelphia unit to the national headquarters of the Communist Party in New York.

The CHAIRMAN. This gives information with reference to the receipt number, the unit, the dues, the stamps, the total, additional dues, international solidarity fund, I. S. F. additional, travelers, and so on and so forth.

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You obtained these records in the same way that you got the other records you testified to?

Mr. HURLEY. In the same fashion; that is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I show you the current check book. Do you recognize that as being part of the records that you obtained?

Mr. HURLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. And also canceled checks?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now I show you a transfer card, a blank transfer card. Did you obtain some of these transfer cards in the files of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. We secured quite a number of these transfer cards.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a book which gives the form of all reports to the national headquarters of the Communist Party, showing, in other words, that the Communist Party of Philadelphia makes regular report in detail to the national headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I show you the form of a pamphlet, rather, a pamphlet entitled "The Navy Yard Helmsmen Steer a True Course," issued by the Communist Party group of the navy yard. Did you get that in the files of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. I did.

The CHAIRMAN. And I show you various other drawings for their publication, Shopping News, and People's Forum, and miscellaneous matters?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, in addition to these records in the committee offices are a great many other records that you obtained, is that true?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you a summary of the Assembly of Youth, dated December 16 and 17, 1939, Philadelphia Youth Council, 490 Social Service Building, Philadelphia, Pa. Did you obtain that in the files of the Communist Party?

Mr. HURLEY. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I show you cards giving the membership list of the Philadelphia Council, and giving the name of the person and where he lives, his address. Did you obtain these cards in the files of the Communist Party in the same manner in which you obtained the other documents?

Mr. HURLEY. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I note one card by a particular member with the request under there: "May I have free literature for a group of 15 mothers, please." And on some of the cards is detailed information with reference to where the particular member is active?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And in this particular case the member was active in the Lucky Star Club. In another instance another member was active in the Rumanian Beneficial Society?

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, I show you the report of the Communist Party of—I presume it is receipts or invoices of dues stamps, showing regular reports to the national headquarters of the Communist Party.

Mr. HURLEY. That is correct, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That was a part of the records that you obtained?

Mr. HURLEY. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, stand aside.

Mr. Barker, will you take the stand.

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BARKER. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF ROBERT B. BARKER, INVESTIGATOR FOR THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

The CHAIRMAN. What is your name?

Mr. BARKER. Robert B. Barker.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the investigators of this committee?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you serve a subpoena upon James Dolsen?

Mr. BARKER. James H. Dolsen.

The CHAIRMAN. James H. Dolsen?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that subpoena served at the headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mr. BARKER. No, sir. It was served at his apartment.

The CHAIRMAN. At his apartment?

Mr. BARKER. 1413 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh, on March 23, 1940.

The CHAIRMAN. Did Mr. Dolsen accompany you to Washington in obedience to the subpoena?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he do so voluntarily?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Was he willing and anxious to come to Washington?

Mr. BARKER. Oh, he enjoyed the trip.

The CHAIRMAN. What I mean is, did you tell him he had to come or did you put him under arrest or anything of that sort?

Mr. BARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did he surrender to you the documents that he had, voluntarily and of his free will?

Mr. BARKER. Yes, sir. We gathered them up and he furnished a couple of suitcases to put them in.

The CHAIRMAN. Was that before the Communist Party gave instructions to the various units and offices to resist the committee's efforts to secure records?

Mr. BARKER. That was before that front-page instruction in the Daily Worker appeared.

The CHAIRMAN. You did not get the records at Baltimore, did you?

Mr. BARKER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Stand aside.

Mr. RANDALL, will you be sworn?

Do you solemnly swear to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. RANDALL. Yes, sir.

**TESTIMONY OF CHARLES RANDALL, INVESTIGATOR FOR THE  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is Charles Randall?

Mr. RANDALL. That is right.

The CHAIRMAN. You are one of the investigators for this committee?

Mr. RANDALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you serve a subpoena upon Mrs. Blumberg?

Mr. RANDALL. I did, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. A subpoena duces tecum calling for the records of the Communist Party for that particular area?

Mr. RANDALL. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Did she object or make any objection to you taking the records?

Mr. RANDALL. She did not, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

We will meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 5:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 10 a. m., Friday, April 5, 1940.)

(In pursuance to the policy of the committee, the following affidavit submitted by Mrs. Grace Gray, of Boston, Mass., is included in the record:)

AFFIDAVIT OF MRS. GRACE GRAY, OF BOSTON, MASS.

Whereas my attention has been called to the fact that on page 2386 of volume 3 of the hearings of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, House of Representatives, my name is listed as being present at a "National Confederation" in 1936 at Asheville, N. C.; and

Whereas the testimony of one John C. Metcalfe to this effect is untrue;

Now therefore, I, Grace Gray (Mrs. James Cunningham Gray) of Boston, County of Suffolk, and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, on oath depose and say that I did not attend any meeting of any confederation at Asheville, N. C.; that I have no knowledge of any such confederation; that I have never been in Asheville, N. C., in my life; and that if my name has been used as a member of any such confederation or group, it has been used without my knowledge or consent.

I further depose and say that I am not a member of any group or organization engaged in subversive or un-American activities of any nature.

GRACE GRAY.

COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS.

*Suffolk, ss:*

Boston, September 16, 1940.

Then appeared the deponent, Grace Gray, personally known to me, and made oath that the above statements by her subscribed are true, before me.

[SEAL]

GOLDMANN EDMUNDS,  
Notary Public.

My commission expires May 1, 1947.

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